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EDITED BY

BASIL L. GILDERSLEEVE

HONORARY FRANCIS WHITE PROFESSOR OF GREEK IN THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

ASSISTANT EDITOR

C. W. E. MILLER

PROFESSOR OF GREEK IN THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

BALTIMORE: THE EDITOR

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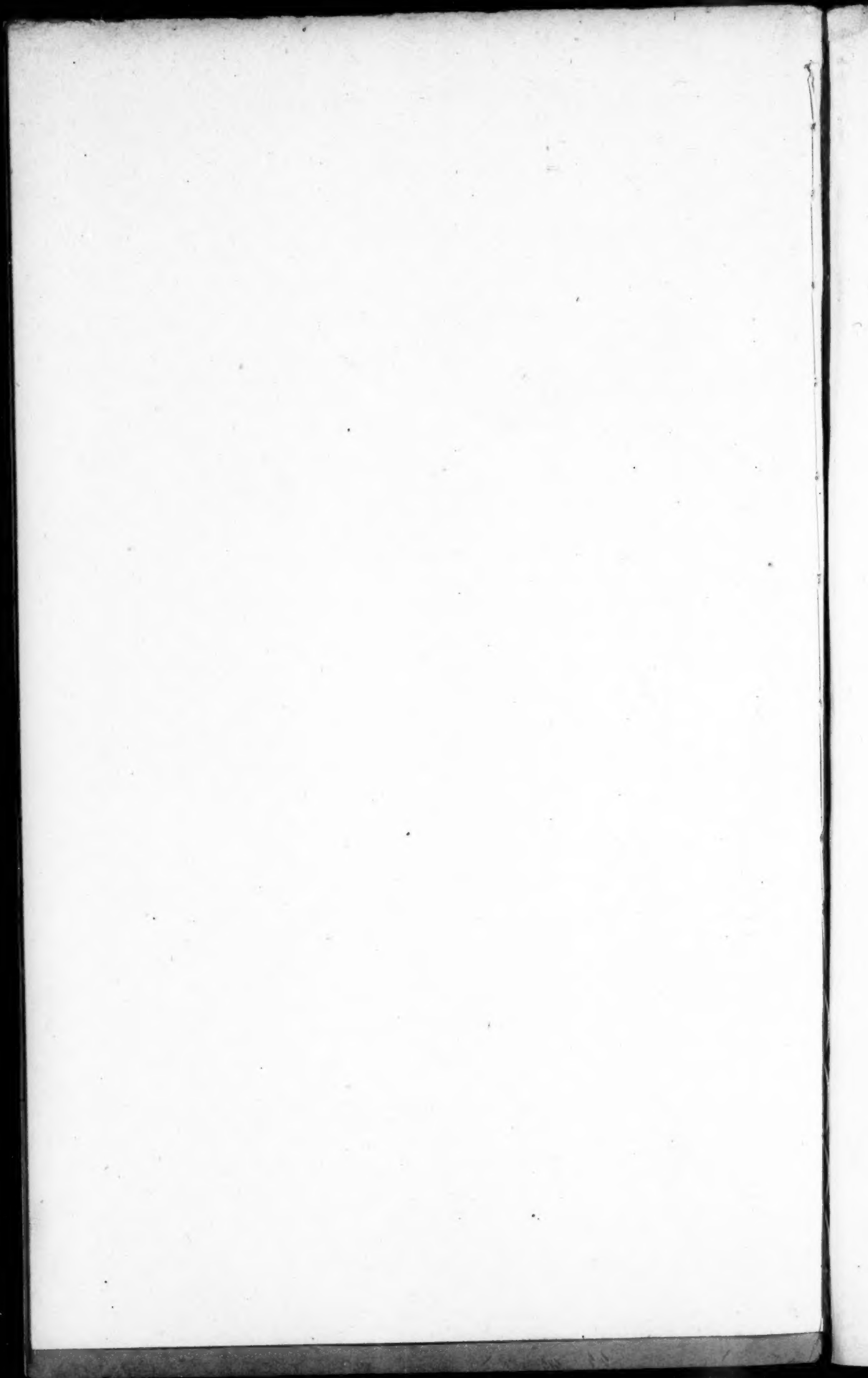
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AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY

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I.—SOME CRUCES IN VEDIC TEXT, GRAMMAR, AND INTERPRETATION.

1. *ajuryamur* for *ajur(yám) yamur*, and other haplogologies.

RV. 5. 6. 10 we have the notorious passage containing the complex of syllables, *ajuryamur*, which the *Padakāra* fails to analyze, to wit:

evān agním *ajuryamur* gīrbhīr yajñébhīr ānuśák,
dádhad asmé suvīryam utá tyád āčvácvyam.

For previous discussions of *ajuryamur* by Ludwig, Pischel, Bartholomae, and Oldenberg, see the last-mentioned scholar's *Rig-Veda Noten*, First Part, p. 315 ff. My own way is indicated by the heading.

If we regard *ajuryamur* as haplological contraction for *ajur(yám) yamur*, the first distich is to be rendered: 'Thus they have gotten hold of imperishable Agni by means of songs and sacrifices, properly'. Agni, like other gods, is imperishable, *ajuryá*, RV. 1. 146. 4; 2. 8. 2; 10. 88. 13; *ajāra* 1. 58. 4; 127. 9; 6. 29, etc. For 'holding', 'keeping hold' of Agni see 3. 27. 3, *ágne čakéma te vayám yáman devásya vājinaḥ*; or 2. 5. 1, *čakéma vājino yámam*.

Another case of haplology as between two individual words, namely *tavásam rabhasva* for *tavásam(sám)rabhasva* occurs in AV. 11. 1. 14:

émā agur yoṣitaḥ čumbhamānā út tiṣṭha nāri *tavásam*
rabhasva,
supātnī pátyā prajāyā prajāvaty á tvāgan yajñāḥ práti
kumbhām grbhāya.

A glance at the lists under root *rabh* in Grassmann's and Whitney's Indexes to RV. and AV. shows that the simple root without prepositional prefixes scarcely occurs in either text. Whitney, indeed, lists the simple root only in that very passage, AV. II. 1. 14. In a note on p. 614 of my translation of the hymn, SBE. xlii, I stated that Sāyaṇa reads in pāda b, *tava saṁrabhasva*, and the Pāippalāda, *tavaḥ saṁrabhasva*. I remarked, furthermore, that the original reading may have been, *tavāsaṁ (sām)rabhasva*. Of this suggestion the Whitney-Lanman translation takes no note. Yet it furnishes the key to the passage: 'The maidens (the waters), ornamenting themselves, have come hither. Arise thou, woman, take hold of (*sām rabhasva*) the strong one (*tavāsaṁ*, i. e., the pitcher, *kumbhām*, masculine) !'

Once more in a Vedic text, simple *rabh*, without preposition calls for correction. In MÇ. 3. 5. 13 we have the corrupt stanza, as edited by Knauer:

agnir bhagaḥ savitedaṁ juṣantām prajāpatir varuṇo . . .
ya . . . mahyam,
yo no dveṣṭi tanūm rabhasvānāgaso yajamānasya vīrān.

There are two parallels to this corrupt stanza. AV. 9. 5. 2:

indrāya bhāgām pāri tvā nayāmy asmīn yajñe yajamānāya
sūrīm,
ye no dviṣānty ānu tām rabhasvānāgaso yajamānasya vīrāḥ.

And ApÇ. 7. 17. 2:

indrasya bhāgaḥ suvite dadhātanemaṁ yajñam yajamānam
ca sūrāu,
yo no dveṣṭy anu tam ravasvānāgaso yajamānasya vīrāḥ.

Whitney, in his translation of AV., does not mention the parallels; Knauer, at MÇ., is cognizant of AV. 9. 5. 2, but not of ApÇ. The intricacies of these correspondences need not concern us at present. I would remark, however, that Knauer's mss. read at the beginning *agner bhāgaḥ*, which corresponds to the parallels, and is probably to be retained in the text. The point that concerns us here is that the third pāda of MÇ. is to be read *yo no dveṣṭy tam anu rabhasva*. In ApÇ. *ravasva* is secondary, tho perhaps intentional; see the author, AJPh. XXVII. 413.

I note in this connection some cases of haplology in chance compounds. In RV. 1. 48. 2 the compound *viçvasuvíd*, by the side of *ácāvānt* and *gómānt*, rendered by 'knowing all well', makes no sense in that connection (*Uṣas*). The word is *viç(va)-vasuvíd* 'getting all goods'; see *Uṣas*'s epithet *ābharād-vasu*, 'bringing on goods', 5. 79. 2; and cf. the word *vasutvanām* in the related stanza, 7. 81. 6, or the expression *utóšo vásva içiše* in 4. 52. 3. In *Ulūka-Jātaka* (270) *appatissavāsa*, 'living in anarchy', is for *a-ppatissa(va)vāsa*; and in *Dadhivāhana-Jātaka* (186) *maṇḍukaṇṭaka*, designation of a plant is probably for *maṇḍu(ka)-kaṇṭaka* 'frog-thorn'. In *Māhārāṣṭrī Prākṛit*, *avaratta* is for *ava(ra)ratta* = Skt. *apararātra*, 'second part of the night'; see Jacobi's *Ausgewählte Erzählungen*, p. 32, l. 37. On the literature of haplology (or haplology)¹, which has of recent years grown apace, see last Collitz, *Das schwache Präteritum* (Göttingen, 1912), p. 237 ff. I would draw attention particularly to instances of the phenomenon as between two successive words: Bloomfield, *American Journal of Philology*, xvii. 418; Schwyzler, *IF*. xiv. 24 ff; xxviii. 300; and Wackernagel, *KZ*. xl. 546.

2. *chardís* for *chadís*, a case of contamination or word blend.

The two words in the caption are obviously related. The metre of the Veda points to *chadís* instead of *chardís* in all critical positions: RV. 1. 48. 15; 8. 9. 1; 18. 21; 27. 4; 67. 6; 71. 14. Grassmann (as after him others) outlines the problem very neatly in his *Lexicon*, s. v.: 'chardís, wofür wahrscheinlich überall chadís zu lesen ist, da sämtliche metrisch entscheidenden Stellen die Kürze der ersten Silbe fordern und keine deren Länge begünstigt. Das r scheint in die spätere Redaction durch Missverständniss hineingedrungen'. For other discussions see Oldenberg, *ZDMG*. lv. 312, and the literature there cited.

What now is the nature of this 'misunderstanding', and is it really such? Grassmann's statement is very well as soon as we substitute for misunderstanding the linguistic term 'contamination', or 'blend'. The poets of the RV. knew only

¹ In sense haplology is preferable to haplology, but the former word with its three l's ironically invites the very change which it aims to describe, as, indeed, also does haplology with its two l's.

the word *chadís*, 'cover'. Like other words of this semantic class the word meant both 'cover' (in the physical sense), and 'protection'; cf., e. g., *várma*, 'armor', and, 'protection'. In the more concrete sense of 'cover' *chadís* occurs in RV. 10. 85. 10; AV. 3. 7. 3, and it endures down to *Kathāsaritsāgara* 2. 49. In the abstract sense of 'protection' the word blended with, or was contaminated by, *čárma* 'protection', taking its *r* from that word. Again in that form the word endures clear thru to *Māhārāṣṭrī Prākṛit chaḍḍī* (Jacobi, *Erzählungen*, p. 76, l. 32). The contamination obviously took place in the time that passed between RV. composition and RV. redaction. At the time of the redaction the word for 'protection' had so definitely assumed the form *chardís* that the diaskeuasts of the RV. had to substitute it for the poets' *chadís*, metre *contradi-cente*. The old word *chadís* had completely sloughed that meaning.

That all this is indeed so, is rendered probable by the intimate and persistent synonymy of *čárma* and *chardís*. Thus the line RV. 7. 52. 2^b, *čárma tokāya tánayāya gopāḥ*, is echoed in the formula, *chardis tokāya tanayāya yacha*, TB. i. 1. 7. 1; ApÇ. 5. 12. 1. In RV. 1. 114. 5^d both words occur together, *čárma várma chardír asmábhyaṁ yaṁsat*. Almost every qualifying expression that is used with *čárma* is also used with *chardís*. Thus *trivárūtha*, 'offering threefold safety', or *varūthyā*, 'offering safety'; or *vārutha* by the side of each:

čárma no yaṁsan trivárūtham, 10. 66. 5
savitā čárma yachatv asmé trivárūtham, 4. 53. 6
sá naḥ čárma trivárūtham ví yaṁsat, 8. 42. 3
čármaṇā nas trivárūthena pāhi, 5. 4. 8
trivárūtham maruto yanta naç chardih, 8. 18. 21.

Cf. also MS. 2. 8. 7^d: III. 4; KS. 17. 6; TA. 2. 5. 2.

čárma . . . varūthyām tād asmāsu ví yantana, 8. 47. 10
bṛhaspátih čárma . . . no yamad varūthyām, 5. 46. 5
chardír yád vām varūthyām, 6. 67. 2
bhāvā vārūtham . . . maghāvadbhyaḥ čárma, 1. 58. 9
čárma no yantam āmavad vārūtham, 4. 55. 4
āchidram čárma yachata . . . vārūtham, 8. 27. 0
yád vaḥ . . . vārūtham āsti yác chardih, 8. 67. 9.

Or, again, adjectives for 'broad' go with both nouns: *urú*, *prthú*, and especially *sapráthaḥ*:

yáchā naḥ čárma sapráthaḥ, 1. 22. 15
sapráthaḥ čárma yacha saḥantya, 6. 16. 33
chardír yacha vitáhavyāya sapráthaḥ, 6. 15. 3
sapráthaḥ chardír yantam ádābhyam, 8. 5. 12
urv āsmā áditiḥ čárma yaṁsat, 4. 25. 5
prá no yachatād avrkām prthú chardīḥ, 1. 48. 15
prásmāi yachatam avrkām prthú chardīḥ, 8. 9. 1.

As regards other adjectives, or other related connections, the following pairs or groups speak for themselves:

durādhārṣaṁ grṇatē čárma yaṁsat, 6. 49. 7
ádhrṣtaṁ chardír yád vām, 6. 67. 2
bhāvā . . . maghavan maghāvadbhyaḥ čárma, 1. 58. 9
chardír yacha maghāvadbhyaḥ ca mahyam ca, 6. 46. 9
 (cf. 7. 74. 5; 8. 5. 12)
čárma tokāya tánayāya gopāḥ, 7. 52. 2 (cf. TB. 1. 1. 7. 1)
ádhā smā yacha tanvè táne ca chardīḥ, 6. 42. 12.

On the character and frequency of lexical contaminations see the author, *Am. Journ. of Philol.* xii. 1 ff.; xvi. 1 ff.; *Indo-germanische Forschungen*, iv. 66 ff.; and most recently Güntert, *Ueber Reimwortbildungen im Arischen und Altgriechischen* (Heidelberg, 1914).

3. Some Σχήματα.

The two stanzas, RV. 1. 4 5, 6 read:

utá bruvantu no nído nír anyatác cid ārata,
dádhanā índra íd dúvaḥ.
utá naḥ subhágān arír vocéyur dasma kṛṣṭáyah,
syāméd índrasya čármaṇi.

The renderings mark a to and fro from a correct understanding: Bollensen, *Orient und Occident*, ii. 462; Ludwig, 443; Grassmann, ii. 5; Pischel, *ZDMG.* xl. 125; Geldner, *Ved. Stud.* iii. 79; Oldenberg, *Rig-Veda Noten* i. 4. Geldner comes nearest to the correct sense; I would translate:

'Whether our enemies happen to say (about us): "when ye pay respect to Indra alone (id), ye have shut yourself off

from other (benefits)"; or, if both gentle and common folk should, O wise (God Indra), pronounce us lucky, (in either case) shall we under Indra's protection be.'¹

utá-utá are clearly antithetic. The two stanzas seem to express an almost sectarian difference between Indra worshipers and people who despise Indra (anindrā), but worship other gods. Intentionally I render ariḥ . . . kṛṣṭāyaḥ by 'both gentle and common folk', i. e., 'rich and poor', or 'patricians and plebeians'. Ariḥ has been suspected (Bollensen suggests ariḥ). But it is correct and idiomatic; we may call it participative singular. Johannes Schmidt, *Die Pluralbildungen der Indo-germanischen Neutra*, pp. 314 ff., following Roth's suggestion in *Pet. Lex.*, s. v. rathatúr, has shown that an inclusive plural noun with a plural verb is occasionally in Sanskrit and Greek accompanied by a singular noun which expresses part of the plural noun.² In our passage kṛṣṭāyaḥ includes both plebs (víçve, *οἱ πολλοί*) and patricians (arí); hence the participative singular ariḥ, by the side of and partly defining kṛṣṭāyaḥ with the plural verb. Cf. for this idiom also Ernst Fraenkel, *Indo-germanische Forschungen*, xxviii. 245 ff. For kṛṣṭí, arí, and víçva see Geldner, *Ved. Stud.* iii. 77 ff.

I am conceiving the matters involved here rather more precisely than does Geldner. kṛṣṭí (carṣaṇí), 'people' is the totality which includes arí and víçva, 'noble and common', its two natural subdivisions; see 7. 48. 3; 8. 1. 22; 51. 9; 65. 9; 10. 28. 1. In Geldner's rendering (p. 78) of víçvágúrto ariṣṭutáḥ in 8. 1. 22, 'der von allen Gerühmte, (sogar) von den Reichen Gepriesene', the word 'sogar' is needless. The expression means, 'he who is praised by plebs and "swell" alike'. Behind these two words stands the comprehensive kṛṣṭāyaḥ 'all folks'.

Another idiom, familiar in the Indo-European languages, ensures a similar effect, namely to mark the contrast between arí and víçva: RV. 10. 28. 1, víçvo hy ànyó arír ājagāma māméd áha çvácuro nā jagāma. Geldner, p. 78, translates, 'Jeder andere, (sogar) der Reiche ist erschienen; nur mein Schwiegervater ist nicht erschienen'. This neither does jus-

¹The last pāda is repeated secondarily in 8. 47. 5^c.

²In Greek rhetoric this idiom is defined as *σχήμα καθ' ὅλον καὶ μέρος*; Kühner, *Grammatik der griechischen Sprache*³, Satzlehre (Kühner-Gerth) vol. i, p. 289.

tice to the established contrast between *viçva* and *ari*, nor to the idiom involved in *anyá*. Translate: 'The common folk and (the others, sc.) the nobles have come, etc.'¹ This is the well-known anticipatory-appositional use of *anya*, common in Sanskrit, the exact replica of a familiar Greek idiom with *ἄλλο-*, e. g., Xen. Anab. i. 5. 5, *οὐ γὰρ ἦν χόρτος οὐδὲ ἄλλο δένδρον*. See Kühner, *Satzlehre*³, vol. i, p. 275, note 1; the author, Amer. Journ. of Philology, vii. 101; Pet. Lex. vol. i, p. 262^b, where examples from Classical Sanskrit are cited abundantly but no Vedic cases. Another such case is contained in RV. i. 109. 6 where the word *anyá* in *viçvā bhúvanā* . . . *anyá* contrasts *viçvā bhúvanā*, 'all creatures', with a list of things that are not creatures. I suspect that other cases may turn up in the Veda.²

This idiom is familiar in modern French, in connection with plural pronouns; e. g., *nous autres Français*; *nous autres femmes*. It is also known in Spanish and other Romance tongues. Kühner-Gerth, l. c., also quotes the idiom, less familiarly, from Latin and Modern High German (Luther and Goethe); cf. also Kühner, *Ausführliche Grammatik der Lateinischen Sprache*, ii, § 119, note 17. Altogether the idiom is found in Vedic and in Sanskrit; in Greek; in classical and in Late Latin; in Spanish, Provençal, and French; in Middle and Modern High German. See in general Böckh, *Encyklopädie und Methodologie der philologischen Wissenschaften* (1877), p. 105; Meyer-Lübke, *Grammaire des Langues Romaines*, vol. ii, § 75; iii, § 209; Diez, iii, p. 84; Tobler, *Vermischte Beiträge*, iii¹, p. 72; Hanssen, *Spanische Grammatik* § 56. 2; Gessner, *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie*, xix. 155; Appel's *Old-Provençal Chrestomathie*, St. 16, vv. 29-32.

¹ More fully: 'Both plebs and patricians have come; my father-in-law alone has not come.'

² The use of *viçvaḥ*, singular, as a collective in the sense of 'plebs', approximates the word to the plural *viçve*, in the same sense. This perhaps accounts for the seemingly senseless substitution in TS. i. 2. 2. 1, of the plural *viçve* for the singular *viçvaḥ* with a singular verb (as in the other versions): *viçve devásya netúr mártō vṛṇīta sakhyám*, 'the plebs, the mortal shall choose the companionship of the god that leadeth'. See last Keith, *Veda of the Black Yajus*, HOS. vol. xviii, p. 21.

4. On the expression *návyam sányase*.

The expression *návyam sányase* occurs, as far as I know, three times in the RV.¹ and once in the *Mahānāmni*-verses of the SV. and *Āitareya-āranyaka*, which makes it easy to take account.

The Pet. Lexs. and Grassmann in his Lexicon translate *sānyas* by 'old', 'older', without indicating in any way how the word is to be rendered in its connection. Geldner in his Glossary renders the entire expression *návyam sányase* by 'was dem ältesten neu ist, d. h. etwas ganz neues, noch nie dagewesenes'. Keith, in his Translation of *Āitareya-āranyaka*, p. 263, suggests for *návyam* the meaning 'praiseworthy' (from root *nu*). As regards translations it will be well to review the proposals for each passage. RV. 3. 31. 19 reads:

*tām āṅgirasván námasā saparyān
návyam kṛṇomi sányase purājām.*

Grassmann, vol. I, p. 530: 'Mit Anbetung ihn nach *Āṅgiras*-art verehrend, mach ich das alterzeugte [Lied] neu dem alten (sc. god *Indra*)'. Ludwig, 498: 'wie *Āṅgiras* mit Anbetung ihm dienend, mach ich ihn neu zum gewinnen, den ehvordem entstandenen'. Ludwig does not comment upon his rendering: obviously he regards *sányase* as an infinitive of root *san* 'obtain'. Oldenberg, *Nachrichten der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, 1915, p. 381: 'ich mache durch meine Anbetung den alten Gott neu (*návyam*) für alte Tat (damit du diese auch jetzt wieder tun mögest)'. It is easy to show that Grassmann was pretty close to the truth, tho he did not quite get it, and lapsed, as we shall see, in the two other RV. passages: *návyam kṛṇomi sányase purājām* contains, to my mind, a playful paradox: 'I make a new song (*bráhma*) that is (in reality) primordial (*purājām*) for the good old (*sányase*) god'.

The passages which show this to be true are of an almost mathematical insistence. RV. I. 62. 13: *sanāyaté gótama indra návyam átakṣad bráhma hariyójanāya*, 'Gotama has fashioned for thee, O *Indra*, the old god, a new song, in order that thou mayest hitch thy bay steeds'. This paraphrases *sányase* by

sanāyaté, and fixes upon návyam the noun bráhma, and from this, as will appear, there is not a hair's breadth of deviation. See next 10. 91. 13, imám prasnāya suṣṭutīm náviyasīm vóceyam asmā ucaté, 'let me pronounce for the god of yore, that is willing, this quite new song'. Here prasnāya suṣṭutīm náviyasīm = návyam (bráhma) sanyase. Next, 6. 62. 5, tā valgū dasrā puruṣākatamā prasnā návyasā vācasā vivāse, 'these two lovely, most powerful Dasras (Aṣvins) of old I invite with a quite new song'. Here prasnā návyasā vācasā = návyam (bráhma) sanyase. RV. 6. 22. 7: tām (sc. indram) vo dhiyā návyasyā caviṣṭham prasnām prasnāvat paritaṇṣaya-dhyāi, 'deck out that mighty (Indra) of old with a new hymn as of old'. Here dhiyā návyasyā prānam = návyam (bráhma) sanyase. In 1. 61. 2 the antithesis between the 'new song' and the 'old god' is implied almost as clearly as tho it were directly expressed: asmāi . . . indrāya . . . prasnāya pātye dhīyo marjayanta, 'let them polish up their songs for Indra the lord of old'. The word marjayanta 'polish up' here well takes the place of 'new'. The word prāna is a favorite in such connection, as may be seen in such passages as 6. 39. 5; 10. 4. 1.

In a slightly more remote way the antithesis between the 'new song' and the 'old god' is in the mind of the author of 2. 17. 1: tād asmāi návyam āṅgirasvād arcata cūsmā yād asya prasnāthodīrate, 'this new (bráhma) sing ye for him (Indra) in the fashion of the Aṅgiras in order that his fire shall be aroused as of old' (note āṅgirasvād, implying the past, as well as prasnāthā). Here návyam (bráhma) prasnāthā āṅgirasvāt = návyam (bráhma) sanyase. Yet more round about, 8. 95. 5: indra yās te náviyasīm girām mandrām ājījanat . . . dhīyam prasnām. And 9. 9. 8: nū návyase náviyase sūktāya sādhyā pathāḥ, prasnāvat rocayā rúcaḥ.

It is clear now that the expression návyam (bráhma) sanyase (devāya) is elliptic. The reason why we Westerners are slow to understand such an expression is, that the Vedic Hindus understood it too well. The underlying idea, as the passages just cited show, must have become immensely familiar, before they could express it by simply saying 'a new for an old'. The same almost kenning-like familiarity of the expression guarantees beforehand that it could not have been

used in any other sense than just that. With this reasoning the facts chime in perfectly. RV. 8. 67. 18 reads:

tát sú no návyam sányasa ádityā yán múmocati,
bandhād baddhām ivādite.¹

Grassmann, who came nearest to understanding 3. 31. 19, lapses from grace utterly: 'Zum alten fügt dies neue ihr, Aditya's, was, O Aditi, uns löst wie Sklaven von dem Strick'. Ludwig, 126: 'disz neue sei uns zum gewinne, was erlöset, o Aditya, wie aus fesseln den gebundenen, o Aditi'. Bergaigne, iii. 161, omitting apparently sányase: 'voici notre nouvel (hymne) qui doit nous délivrer, ô Adityas, comme un homme lié de son lieu, ô Aditi'. Oldenberg, l. c.: 'diese neue Tat (wird) uns (zuteil) zum Zweck des alten—d. h. damit die alte Tat fortwirke, sich erneuere.' Translate: 'This, pray, is our new (song) for a right old (god), which, O Adityas, shall free us as a captive from his chain, O Aditi'.

The third occurrence of this cliché is in RV. 8. 24. 26:

tām u tvā nūnām īmahe návyam daṁsiṣṭha sányase,
sá tvām no vicvā abhīmātiḥ saksāṇiḥ.

Grassmann: 'Darum begehren wir von dir zum alten neues, herrlicher, sei du Vertilger aller Widersacher uns'. Ludwig, 597, 'als solchen flehen wir dich jetzt an, den frischen, wundertätigster, zu gewinne, als solcher bist du es, der uns alle nachstellungen überwindet'. Oldenberg, l. c.: 'wir gehen dich den Neuen (d. h. erneut sich Betätigenden) an für die alte Tat (damit du diese auch jetzt wieder tun mögest)'. In this stanza the construction of īmahe with two accusatives, rather than with accusative and instrumental is unusual: 'We pray to thee now, O most wise (Indra), a new (song) for a right old god: thou art the conqueror of all that plot against us'. Cf. prasnābhīr ūtibhis by the side of īmahe in 8. 12. 24; or yajñēsu pūrvyām by the side of īmahe in 8. 60. 2. Perhaps pāda b is to be taken parenthetically: 'We implore thee now—a new song for a right old god'—etc. There is, in any case, not the faintest reason for taking návyam sányase in a different sense.

¹ The stanza is paralleled interestingly in 8. 18. 12: tát sú naḥ çarma yachatādityā yán múmocati, énasvantam cid énasah sudānavah.

The formula crops out once more in a passage of the Ma-hānāmī litany:

nūnām tán návyam sányase
prábho jánasya vṛtrahan.¹

Oldenberg, l. c., '(ist) diese (Tat) nunmehr neu für die alte' (d. h. zum Zwecke der Erneuerung der alten). Or, '(rufen wir) diesen neuen jetzt (an) für die alte Tat' (d. h. damit er seine alte Tat wiederhole). Translate: '(We sing) now this new (song) in honor of the right old (god), O thou that art distinguished among the people, O slayer of Vṛtra'! That the poets diligently describe Indra as 'the god of yore' follows from the preceding passages, and can be easily corroborated by further evidence which is in everybody's hands.

5. On stanza 6 in the hymn of Saramā and the Panis,
RV. 10. 108.

Both the meaning of some of the words and a certain uncouth quality of the construction, which obviously states paratactically what, to our feeling, should be stated hypotactically, have kept this stanza a *crux interpretum*. There is scarcely a Vedic scholar who has not in one way or another tried his hand at it. The following is an endeavor once more to clear its difficulties. The stanza reads:

asenyaṁ vaḥ paṇayo vácāṁsy anīṣavyās tanvāḥ santu pāpīḥ,
ādhṛṣṭo va étavā astu pānthā bṛhaspátir va ubhayā ná mṛlāt.

Ludwig (992): 'Nicht von waffenart (wenigstens) sind eure reden; gesetzt es wären dem pfeil nicht ausgesetzt eure schlechten leiber, unbewältigt der weg zu euch zu kommen, Bṛhaspati wird euch in keinem fälle (ob es ist oder nicht ist) gnädig sein'.²

Grassmann: 'Nicht treffend sind, o Paṇi's eure Worte; und wären schussfest eure bösen Leiber, und undurchdringlich auch der Weg zu euch hin, Bṛhaspati wird beides nicht verschonen'.

Geldner und Kaegi, Siebenzig Lieder, p. 79: 'Mit Worten, Paṇi, könnet ihr nicht fechten; und wären schussfest eure

¹ For the text see Oldenberg, l. c., pp. 377, 381.

² Cf. his comment with other suggestions.

schlechten Leiber, der Weg zu euch auch noch so schwer zu zwingen, das alles wird Brhaspati nicht kümmern'.

Von Schroeder, *Mysterium und Mimus*, p. 175: 'Nicht Wunden schlagen, Paṇis, eure Worte! Und wären schussfest eure schlechten Leiber, wär auch der Weg zu euch schier unbezwinglich, Brhaspati wird beides nicht verschonen'.

Hertel, *WZKM.* xviii. 60: 'Mit Worten, Paṇi, könnt ihr nicht versehen; wenn schussfest eure sünd'gen Leiber wären, und unzugänglich alle eure Pfade: Brhaspati versagt euch seine Gnade'.

Hillebrandt, *Lieder des Rig-Veda*, p. 147: 'Wehrlos sind eure Worte, Paṇis. Eure Leiber, die hässlichen, mögen undurchdringlich für die Pfeile, der Weg zu euch mag unnahbar sein: Brhaspati wird euch in keinem Falle gnädig sein'.

The most critical word in the stanza is *ubhayā*. Those translators who take the word in the sense of 'beides' are obviously in error; the accent shows that it is adverbial (*ubhayā* from stem *ubháya*) meaning 'in either case', 'whether so or so'. Thus Ludwig in his translation; Bartholomae, *IF.* v. 227, note 3; Oldenberg, *RV.* Noten to the passage.¹ The stanza thus contains an alternative between two suppositions; the question is where to place the hinge or seam between the alternatives. In this we must be guided by *santu* and *astu* which harbor the idea 'whether it be so or so'. Now it is clear that *santu* controls *pāda* ab; *astu* *pāda* c; the conclusion comes in *pāda* d. We may expect something favorable and something unfavorable to the Paṇis: 'in either case Brhaspati shall not spare you' (*pāda* d).

The entire first couplet contains the something unfavorable to the Paṇis. Here, namely in the word *aniṣavyās*, may be found the solution of the difficulties of the stanza. The stem *aniṣavyā* is rendered in the translations above by 'impervious to arrows'. So also, unanimously as far as I know, the lexicons (*Pet. Lexs.*; Grassmann; Monier Williams; Bergaigne, *Études sur le Lexique du Rig-Veda*; Hillebrandt, *Vedachrestomathie*, etc.).² The word means nearly the very opposite of that, for it contains *iṣavya* with the negative

¹ On the grammatical aspect of *ubhayā* see last Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik*, ii. 1, p. 21.

² Myself in the same error, *ZDMG.* xlviii. 549, note 3.

prefix. Now *iṣavya* means 'war-like' literally, conversant with 'arrows': *ā rāṣtre rājanyaḥ cūra iṣavyo* (VS. ÇB. add 'tivyādhi') *jāyatām* VS. 22. 22; MS. 3. 12. 6: 162. 7; ÇB. 13. 1. 9. 2; *āsmīn rāṣtre rājanya iṣavyaḥ cūro mahāratho jāyatām* TS. 7. 5. 18. 1; KSA. 5. 14; TB. 3. 8. 13. 1 (cf. ÇÇ. 8. 18. 1; JUB. 1. 4. 2). The passages speak for themselves: *iṣavya* is the same as *iṣu-bala* (by the side of *citrā-sena*; cf. *asenyā* in our stanza¹), RV. 6. 75. 9; or the *iṣumān vīró āstā*, RV. 2. 42. 2.² Therefore *anīṣavya* means, 'unwarlike', lit., 'not inured to arrows'. And by the same terms *asenyā* means 'not inured to missiles', i. e., again, synonymically, 'unwarlike'. The conception *īndraḥ sényaḥ*, 1. 81. 2; 7. 30. 2, hovers before the mind of the writer as the opposite of *asenyā*.

It can be seen now what the stanza means: 'Whether (on the one hand), O Paṇis, your words be feeble, your vile bodies cowardly; or whether (on the other hand) the road to you be hard to dare, in either case Bṛhaspati (Indra's Purohita) will show you no mercy'.

While on the theme of 10. 108, I would remark that stanzas 9 and 10 have always seemed to me post festum and anti-climax. These two stanzas fit better after stanza 2, where they would in no sense disturb the sequel of the hymn. Or, they may be imagined as standing in the same position in the place of 3 and 4, of which they would be a not bad alternate version. Cf. 3^{cd}, *mitrām enā dadhāmātha gāvām gópatir no bhavāti*, with 9^{cd}, *svāsāram tvā kṛṇavāi mā púnar gā āpa te gāvām subhage bhajāma*; and again cf. 4^a, *nāhām tám veda dābhyām dābhat sá*, with 10^a, *nāhām veda bhrātrtvām nó svasṛtvām*. I have a sort of Vāḷakhilya feeling as regards the two pairs. If this be so I need scarcely point out that stanza 11, in close catenation with 10, was composed after 9 and 10 got their place where they now stand in the hymn.

6. On the meaning of *ukhachíd*.

Windisch, *Festgruss an Otto von Böhtlingk*, p. 115, has made it clear that this compound means 'lame', being a periphrasis—we might say a sort of kenning—of *çronā*. The

¹ For *senā* in the sense of 'missile' see last Bloomfield, ZDMG. xlviii. 549, note 1.

² Cf. also, more remotely the type of passage such as 3. 4. 9=7. 2. 9. where *sudákṣa* seems to occupy the place of *iṣavyā* or *iṣumān*.

word is $\tilde{a}\pi$. λεγ. in RV. 4. 19. 9, *nir bhūd ukhachīt sām aranta pārva*, 'the lame man was off; his joints fitted together'. Cf. the convincing parallel in 8. 79. 2, *niḥ çronó bhūt*, 'the lame man was off'. Now he finds the word *ukhā* in certain grammatical word-lists (*gaṇas*) among words for parts of the body, and one commentator explains it by *sphik*, 'hip'. There is nothing to prevent *ukhā* from having that meaning in a figurative way, though it is, as far as I know, not quotable in that sense in Hindu literature. Windisch next assumes that *ukhachīd* means 'one who has broken his hip' ('der einen hüftenbruch erlitten hat'), therefore, 'lame'.

We should expect *ukhachinna* rather than *ukhachīd*, 'hip-breaker', which would seem to state something habitual, whereas the lame man would break his hip only a single time. The analogy is with compounds like *grīvachinna* 'one whose neck is cut', *Suparṇākh*. 25. 6; *grīvābhagna*, with the same meaning, *Vetālap*. 17. 6; *grīvabaddha*, 'bound by the neck' *TS*. 3. 3. 8. 3, *jānvakna* (comm. *sambhugnajānu*), 'with bent knee', *ApÇ*. 10. 9. 2. Moreover there is that in the literature which leads me to suspect that *ukhā* in *ukhachīd*¹ has its primary meaning of 'pot' or 'pan'. Thus *ÇB*. 6. 6. 4. 8: *yady eṣokhā bhidyeta*, 'now if this pot breaks'; *TS*. 5. 1. 9. 2: *sā* (sc. *ukhā*) *yad bhidyetārtim ārchad yajamāno hanyetāsyā yajñāḥ*, 'if this (pot) be broken, the sacrificer gets into trouble, his sacrifice is destroyed'; *ApÇ*. 10, 5, 3: *mitrāitām ta ukhām paridadāmy abhityā eṣā mā bhedi*, 'O Mitra, I make over to thee this pot unto unbreakableness; it shall not be broken'. Breaking of the pot (*ukhābhedanam*) is provided for ritualistically in *KÇ*. 16. 7. 8. The *ukhā* was fragile, being made of clay (*mṛṇmayī*) which was baked (*çrāpaya*), *VS*. 11. 59, et al. The *ukhā* leaks easily: *mā susroḥ* 'do not leak', *AV*. 12. 3. 12; *ukhām sravan-tim* 'the leaking pot', *KÇ*. 25. 9. 14; *MÇ*. 3. 5. 14. It has to be placed firmly on the altar to keep it secure: *ukhā kumbhī vedyām mā vyathiṣṭhāḥ*, 'do not, pot or kettle, wobble on the altar', *AV*. 12. 3. 23 (cf. *MS*. 4. 1. 3: 4. 9; *TB*. 3. 2. 3. 1). In case it broke a new one had to be made, *Vāit*. 28. 12.

It would seem then that the fragile *ukhā* was found to be less secure in the hands of a lame man, who might thus be nick-named 'pot-breaker'. It is not necessary to inquire how

¹ The short a is rhythmical; see Leumann, *Gurupūjākāumudī*, p. 13.

much fancy and how much fact there was at the bottom of the notion. Persons with bodily defects are apt to be nick-named all over the world; another Skt. designation of a lame man, *ekapad*, 'One-leg', shows the same spirit.

7. Irregular Relative Clause Constructions.

The poet Agastya, in RV. i. 176, seems to me to have difficulty in handling a relative with its antecedent pronoun, stem *ta-*, or, perhaps some metrical consideration led him to unusual passes in this same matter. Stanza 5 reads:

āvo yāsya dvibārhaso 'rkēṣu sānuṣág ásāt,
ājāv índrasyendo právo vājeṣu vājīnam.

Previous treatments are listed by Oldenberg, *Rig-Veda Noten*, i. 176. It seems to me well, in the first place, to comment upon Geldner's ingenious translation, *Ved. Stud.* ii. 129: 'Wen du, O Soma, bei einem Wettkampfe zu Ehren des doppelstarken Indra schütztest, der wird in den Liedern ordentlich sein; du beschütztest den im Kampfe siegreichen'. The formal difficulty in this rendering is the accent of *ásāt*, which disqualifies it from service in the principal clause of the sentence, but points to the subordinate clause.

As regards the sense, I do not believe that there is any indication of a race ('wettkampf') in honor of Indra (if so, where?). When a Vedic text says *ājāv índrasya*, it can, in my opinion, have in mind but one thing, namely, 'in the contest for Indra', that is to say, in the attempt to secure the presence of the 'much-called' god (*puruhūtá*, and the like); see, e. g., 6. 19. 3^d, *asmān indrābhy ā vavṛtsvājāu*. Moreover, Geldner's translation, as a whole, carries with it an obvious *hysteron proteron* which is suspiciously parallel to the wrong accent of *ásāt*. We should expect the poet to say that Soma inspires him that composes skilful poems to secure Indra's presence, rather than that he whom Indra protects is skilful in poetry. The latter might be an idea applicable later to the court of a Bhoja Rāja; it is not a Vedic idea.

Oldenberg's suggestions are advanced hesitatingly, especially as regards *sānuṣák* which, he thinks, may be a compound = *sa-ānuṣák*, or = *sānu-ṣák*. Tho the *Padapātha* does not analyze *sānuṣák*, and tho it has but one accent, I believe with others, that we must read *sānuṣák* = *sá + ānuṣák*.

The passage seems to state: 'Thou didst aid him who is clever (*ānuṣák*) in songs in honor of twice-strong (*Indra*); didst, O *Indu* (*Soma*), aid him in the contest for *Indra* (the much-called). Thou didst aid in obtaining substance him that hath substance'. For *arkéṣu ānuṣák* cf., e. g., 5. 8. 10, *gīrbhír yajñébhir ānuṣák*. In the first distich of our stanza the logical antecedent *tám*, 'him', seems to be incorporated in the relative clause as *sá* in *sānuṣák*. This accounts for the obscuration of **sānuṣák*, and the consequent loss of one of its accents. Moreover *yásya* seems to be for *yó asya*, or for single *yó* attracted to the case of *dvibárhasaḥ*.¹ Here is what the passage seems to say in good Vedic: *ávo tám yó* (or *yó asya*) *dvibárhaso* *rkéṣv ānuṣág ásat* (thus the accent of *ásat* is justified); *áva ājāv indrasyendo*; *právo vájeṣu vājinam*. The fourth *pāda*, repeated in 1. 4. 8, looks a little like an appendage, and may have been borrowed from that stanza.

The same *Agastya* in the same hymn, 1. 176. 2, seems once more to have assimilated a relative pronoun (attraction) to another word in the same relative clause:

*tásminn á veçayā gíro yá ékaç carṣaṇinām,
ánu svadhā yám upyáte yávam na cárkrṣad vṛṣā.*

See Oldenberg, *Rig-Veda Noten*, and the literature there cited; and cf. Colinet, *Sur le sens du mot svadhā*, p. 14. Two points seem to me to control the explanation of this curious passage. First, the words *ánu svadhā* belong together = *ánu svadhāḥ*²; this eliminates the need of combining *ánu* and *vap*, a combination otherwise unknown in the RV. This on the evidence of 9. 103. 5; 10. 37. 5 (*ánu svadhāḥ*); 1. 33. 11; 88. 6; 3. 51. 11; 4. 33. 6; 52. 6; 7. 56. 13; 8. 88. 5 (*ánu svadhām*); and *anuṣvadhām*, frequent adverb. All mean, 'according to habit or custom'. Should this be so, then, secondly, *yám* in *pāda c* cannot be construed, unless we regard it as attracted

¹ Cf. Neisser, ZDMG. lxi. 138, and Oldenberg's note, *Rig-Veda Noten*, i, to 4. 21. 1 for similar phenomena regarding the relative. Cf. also the same author, *Rig-Veda Noten*, ii, p. 379^b (*Relativsatz frei angeschlossen*).

² Thus, previously, Bergaigne, iii. 9, note. The *Padapāṭha*, of course, in not explaining *svadhā* as *svadhāḥ*, must have interpreted the word as nominative, subject of *upyáte* with *ánu*. All attempts to interpret on this basis strike me as forced and unbelievable.

from the nominative (yás) to the accusative yávam in its own relative clause.

Under this construction, the stanza, addressed to Soma would run as follows: 'Make enter into him (sc. Indra), who is sole (ruler) of the peoples, our songs, as a bull ploughs (i. e. makes enter) grain (into the field), grain which is sown according to (established) custom!' That is to say, omitting the attributive pāda b,¹ the stanza is equivalent to the following: *tásminn ā veçayā giro yávam ná cārṣṣad vṛṣā, ānu svadhā yā* (sc. *yávaḥ*) *upyāte*. The sense then were clear: the poet asks Soma to enter Indra (1. 176. 1; 9. 2. 1), and, as he enters, to carry with him the poet's songs, in order to ensure Indra's gratitude to the poet. He must do this as regularly or steadily as the plough-steer, according to established custom, ploughs grain into the soil. That the expression, *yávam ná cārṣṣad vṛṣā*, does not require any further description, such as is contained in the fictitious *ānu upyāte*, 'pouring the grain in after the plough has ploughed', may be gathered from the repetition of the idea in 1. 23. 15, *góbhir yávam ná cārṣṣat*.

In our interpretation of 1. 176. 2^c much weight is given to the habitual adverbial expressions in which various forms of *svadhā* are governed by *ānu*. I should be loath to see this argument exercise undue influence. In one RV. passage, 5. 34. 1, juxtaposition of *ānu* and *svadhā* is entirely fortuitous: *ānu* does not govern *svadhā*, but belongs to *īyate*:

*ājātaçatrum ajārā svārvaty ānu svadhāmitā dasmām īyate,
sunótana pácata bráhmavāhase puruṣtūtāya pratarām da-
dhātana.*

Roth in *Pet. Lex. s. v. 1. svadhā* 3) was under the influence of those adverbial expressions when he suggested the reading *ānu svadhām āmitā* in this stanza, but *svadhā* (nominative) is here personified: 'Svadhā unaging, full of light, unmeasured follows the wise god (Indra) whose enemy is yet to be born'; see in AV. 2. 29. 7, the *ūrjā svadhā ajārā*, created by Indra; and the *svadhā ajārā* of the Fathers in 12. 2. 32.

¹ Repeated in much better connection in 1. 7. 9. In our stanza the pāda is a dislocated fragment.

Once more, AV. 6. 53. 1^c, ánu occurs before svadhā under rather trying circumstances: ánu svadhā cikitām sómo agniḥ. Whitney in his Translation observes that the compound verb ánu + ci does not occur elsewhere in the language but renders, 'let the svadhā favor [me; let] Soma, Agni'. Ludwig, *Der Rig-Veda*, vol. iii, p. 506 translates, 'durch die Svadhā denke daran Soma, Agni'. He seems to make ánu govern svadhā as a homophonous instrumental. I have thought of correcting to ánu svadhām (or svadhāḥ), and thus escaping the dubious combination ánu + ci; cf. AV. 6. 96. 3, sómas táni svadhāyā naḥ punātu; AV. 18. 3. 8, sám sómena mādasya sám svadhābhiḥ. But why should the text of 6. 53. 1 have slipped from the line of least resistance (ánu svadhām, or ánu svadhāḥ) into ánu svadhā?

An incorporated relative conversely attracts secondarily its subject in the clause which contains the attraction. RV. 10. 17. 9:

sárasvatīm yām pitáro hávante dakṣiṇā yajñám abhinák-
ṣamāṇāḥ,
sahasrārghám iló átra bhāgám rāyás póṣam yájamāneṣu
dhehi.

Here sárasvatīm is attracted from the vocative or nominative to the accusative yām: the attraction is quite as illogical as that of yásya for yāḥ in I. 176. 5, or yām for yāḥ in I. 176. 2.

Similarly in I. 183. 1, tám yuñjāthām mánaso yó jáviyān trivandhuró vṛṣaṇā yás tricakráḥ, 'Yoke, O ye two bulls, that car which is swifter than the mind, has three pole-boards,¹ and three wheels'. Here trivandhuró . . . yás tricakráḥ (for trivandhurám, etc.) is attracted to the articular relative phrase mánaso yó jáviyān (formula in I. 117. 2; II. 1; IO. 112. 2).

MAURICE BLOOMFIELD.

¹For the meaning of vandhúra see my forthcoming work, *Rig-Veda Repetitions*, HOS., vol. xx, p. 236. The work comprises volumes xx and xxiv of Harvard Oriental Series.

II.—POMPEIUS TROGUS AND JUSTINUS.

I. TROGUS.

The Epitome of the work of Pompeius Trogus, by Justinus, does not reveal much that is definite in regard to the work of either writer. However, there are two statements of Justinus indicating in a general way the chronology of Trogus. At the end of Book 43 is found the following: *In postremo libro Trogus ait maiores suos originem a Vocontiis ducere; avum suum Trogum Pompeium Sertoriano bello civitatem a Cn. Pompeio percepisse, patrum Mithridatico bello turmas equitum sub eodem Pompeio duxisse; patrem quoque sub C. Caesare militasse epistularumque ac legationum et anuli curam habuisse.* From this we may infer that the birth of Trogus was not far from the middle of the first century B. C., and that he was of the same generation as Livy. The other passage is in 38, 3, 11 *quam orationem dignam duxi, cuius exemplum brevitati huius operis insererem; quam obliquam Pompeius Trogus exposuit, quoniam in Livio et in Sallustio reprehendit, quod contiones directas pro sua oratione operi suo inserendo historiae modum excesserint.* We can not tell whether this remark was in connection with the oration given, or was prefatory to the entire work. All that we can definitely know is that some parts of the work of Trogus were written after some parts of the work of Livy.

The parallel passages collected by Crohn, *De Trogi Pompei apud antiquos auctoritate*, point to Trogus as one of the sources of Valerius Maximus. This can be illustrated by Val. Max. 9, 10, Ext. 1 and Just. 1, 8, 9. The same fact is stated by Herodotus 1, 214, yet the variations in the form of statement indicate that Val. Max. drew from a preceding Latin writer. Vell. Pat. 1, 8, 3 and Just. 2, 7, 1 are also very much alike; and these and other passages show the utilization of Trogus by both writers, and fix some time in the reign of Tiberius as the date before which the work of Trogus must have been published. Noticeable is the statement in 39, 1, 3 *sed dum aliena adfectat,*

ut adsolet fieri, propria . . . amisit, for it changes the order of the parts, one of the verbs, and, from singular to plural, the two adjectives of Phaedrus 1, 4, 1,

Amittit merito proprium qui alienum adpetit.

Considering the nature of the work of Justinus, the variation he has used seems to have been derived by Trogus from Phaedrus, and if it was, the statement of the Monk Matthew in his Flores Historiarum can not be true, for he says, anno divinae incarnationis nono, Caesare Augusto imperii sui LIum agente annum Trogus Pompeius Chronica sua terminavit; see Schanz, Geschichte der Röm. Litt., sec. 328.

As Trogus criticised both Sallust and Livy, it is probable that he made free use of both. The long list of parallel examples collected by Sellge, De Studiis in Sallustio Crispo a Pompeio Trogo et Justino epitomatore collocatis, shows that Trogus gathered with a free hand from Sallust. It is safe to assume that he made use of Livy in the same way, with the possible difference that he may have used the parts of the work of Livy as they appeared.

Some rhetorical features of the work of Justinus find parallels in the work of Livy. This does not necessarily show that one borrowed from the other, but that both may have been subject to the same influences, and may have been affected in the same way. To illustrate this, some passages will be quoted from Justinus having similar elements in Livy; see the Historical Attitude of Livy, A. J. P. XXV, 15 foll. Just. 3, 7, 16 bellum . . . quod priusquam expono, de Siciliae situ pauca dicenda sunt; 11, 15, 1 interea Dareus . . . vincitur, credo ita diis immortalibus iudicantibus, ut . . . finiretur. The plural *accepimus* occurs in 7, 1, 5; and 20, 1, 15 quid Tarentini, quos a Lacedaemone profectos spuriosque vocatos a.? Compare in 42, 2, 7 sed quoniam in Armeniam transitum facimus, origo eius paulo altius repetenda est. Similar to these are *memoravimus* in 20, 5, 1; and *videmus* in 20, 1, 8. The potential subjunctive is found in 6, 2, 7 postquam Agesilaum . . . misere, non facile dixerim, quod aliud par ducum tam bene comparatum fuerit. Livy's method is also followed in referring to other parts of the work: 2, 5, 9; 23, 3, 2 sicut supra dictum est; 10, 2, 1 cuius

mentio supra habita est. We find in 4, 1, 1; and 20, 1, 16 ferunt; in 42, 3, 7; and 44, 3, 1 multi auctores prodidere. There are also some generalizing statements: 5, 1, 11 ut fit; 2, 13, 2 et in maius, sicuti mos est, omnia extollens; 39, 1, 3 ut adsolet fieri. Here also may be placed a few maxims: 6, 1, 1 Lacedaemonii, more ingenii humani quo plura habent eo ampliora cupientes; 20, 5, 3 tantum virtutis paupertas adversus insolentes divitias habet, tantoque insperata interdum sperata victoria certior est; 6, 8, 2 sicuti telo si primam aciem praefergeris, reliquo ferro vim nocendi sustuleris. There are a few other occurrences of the indefinite second person: 4, 1, 18 ea est enim procul inspicientibus natura loci, ut sinum maris, non transitum putes, quo cum accesseris, discedere ac seiungi promuntoria . . . arbitrere. Other instances are in the imperfect: 2, 12, 24 cerneres; 14, 6, 11 posses; 2, 9, 12; and 13, 1, 10 putares; and the best illustrative passage 11, 6, 5 ut non tam milites quam magistros militiae lectos putares. Ordines quoque nemo nisi sexagenarius duxit, ut, si principia castrorum cerneres, senatum te priscae alicuius rei publicae videre diceres.

Here and there are found indefinite statements not unlike some of Livy's: 4, 1, 16 quantum nunc admirationis, tantum antiquis terroris dederit; 15, 2, 9 tanto honestius tunc bella gerebantur quam nunc amicitiae coluntur; 41, 1, 1 Parthi, penes quos velut divisione orbis cum Romanis facta nunc Orientis imperium est, Scytharum exules fuere; 36, 3, 9 facile tunc Romanis de alieno largientibus. These are interesting contrasts, but they give nothing definite in regard to the time of writing; and the same is true of statements in Trogus which were influenced by what Livy had already written.

A number of short passages in the first book of Livy are similar to ones found in the forty-third book of Justinus: L. 1, 1, 11 oppidum condunt; Aeneas ab nomine uxoris Lavinium appellat: J. 43, 1, 12 urbem ex nomine uxoris Lavinium condidit; L. 1, 5, 4 sic Numitori ad supplicium Remus deditur: J. 43, 2, 9 tunc a rege Numitori in ultionem traditur; L. 1, 4, 3 sacerdos vincta in custodiam datur; pueros in profluentem aquam mitti iubet: J. 43, 2, 4 pueros exponi iubet et puellam vinculis onerat. The reversal of the order of the parts in the last statement is noticeable, as also in some others which may have been derived from a common source: L. 37, 45, 12 animos

. . . eosdem in omni fortuna gessimus gerimusque, neque eos secundae res extulerunt nec adversae minuerunt: J. 31, 8, 8 Africano praedicante, Romanos neque, si vincantur, animos minuere neque, si vincant, secundis rebus inolescere. Illustrations of other statements which may have a common source are as follows: L. 37, 1, 10 experiri libebat, utrum plus regi Antiocho in Hannibale victo an in victore Africano consuli legionibusque Romanis auxilii foret: J. 31, 7, 2 ut intellegeret Antiochus non maiorem fiduciam se in Hannibale victo quam Romanos in victore Scipione habere; L. 37, 37, 3 Iliensibus in omni rerum verborumque honore ab se oriundos Romanos praeferebant et Romanis laetis origine sua: J. 31, 8, 1 Iliensibus Aenean ceterosque cum eo duces a se profectos, Romanis se ab his procreatos referentibus. In the last pair quoted we have *praeferentibus: referentibus*, in the first Africano: Scipione, and in L. 39, 50, 10 P. Scipionem: J. 32, 4, 9 Scipionis Africani. If these are independent statements it is strange that the writers did not hit on the same form of statement in one at least of the three variations cited.

The changes made by Philip of Macedon are described in J. 8, 5, 9 non quidem pavor ille hostilis nec discursus per urbem militum erat, non tumultus armorum, non bonorum atque hominum rapina, sed tacitus maeror et luctus, verentibus, ne ipsae lacrimae pro contumacia haberentur . . . nunc sepulcra maiorum, nunc veteres penates, nunc tecta, in quibus geniti erant quibusque genuerant, considerabant. This adapts Livy 1, 29, 2 non quidem fuit tumultus ille nec pavor . . . clamor hostilis et cursus per urbem armatorum . . . sed silentium triste ac tacita maestitia . . . cum larem ac penates tectaque, in quibus natus quisque educatusque esset, relinquentes exirent. At one point the setting in Justinus is simpler, for he has *tacitus maeror ac luctus* for Livy's *silentium triste ac tacita maestitia*—silence sad and silent sadness. On the other hand the statement of Livy is expanded by Trogus with *nunc . . . nunc . . . nunc*, and instead of *in quibus natus quisque educatusque*, there is given a new contrast *geniti erant . . . genuerant*. There is also a noticeable resemblance in many shorter passages, and of these some will be given from each of the decades of Justinus. J. 2, 7, 4 qui velut novam civitatem legibus conderet: L. 1, 19, 1 urbem novam, conditam vi et armis, iure eam legibusque ac

moribus de integro condere parat; J. 5, 1, 5 and 43, 5, 4 velut ad commune extinguendum incendium concurrunt: L. 28, 42, 10 velut ad commune restinguendum incendium concurrent; J. 6, 8, 6 ut sumptus funeri defuerit: L. 2, 33, 11 sumptus funeri defuit; J. 13, 1, 4 omnes barbarae gentes . . . ut parentem luxerunt: L. 2, 7, 4 matronae annum ut parentem eum luxerunt; J. 13, 6, 2 quippe hostes . . . recepti occisis coniugibus et liberis domos quisque suas . . . incenderunt eoque congestis etiam servitiis semet ipsi praecipitant: L. 21, 14, 1 in ignem . . . plerique semet ipsi praecipitaverunt; and in sec. 4 inclusi cum coniugibus ac liberis domos super se ipsos concremaverunt; J. 12, 15, 1 agnoscere se fatum domus *suae* ait: L. 27, 51, 12 agnoscere se fortunam Carthaginis fertur dixisse; J. 22, 8, 6 paululum modo adniterentur: L. 35, 5, 11 obtestabatur, ut paulum adniterentur; J. 24, 5, 12 non votis agendum: L. 22, 5, 2 nec inde votis . . . evadendum; J. 32, 4, 9 insignis hic annus trium toto orbe maximorum imperatorum mortibus fuit, Hannibalis et Philopoemenis et Scipionis Africani; cf. 5, 8, 7 insignis hic annus et expugnatione Athenarum et morte Darei, regis Persarum, et exilio Dionysii, Siciliae tyranni, fuit: L. 39, 50, 10 velut ad insignem notam huius anni, memoriae mandatum sit tres claros imperatores eo anno decessisse, Philopoemenem, Hannibalem, P. Scipionem; J. 42, 1, 3 pueritiae sibi flore conciliatum: L. 21, 2, 3 flore aetatis . . . conciliatus; J. 44, 2, 2 si extraneus deest, domi hostem quaerunt: L. 30, 44, 8 si foris hostem non habet, domi invenit. The scene described by Livy in 1, 40, 7 dum intentus in eum se rex totus averteret, alter elatam securim in caput deiecit, is reproduced in J. 16, 5, 15 dum alterum dicentem intentus audit tyrannus, ab altero obtruncatur, with the grammatical correction of Livy's imperfect subjunctive with *dum*. Owing to the loss of the larger part of Livy's work it can not be absolutely determined whether Trogus made any use of the work of Livy after book forty-five.

Though there are resemblances in the language used indicating that Trogus adapted the words of Livy to his own uses, the historical spheres of the two writers are quite distinct. The interpretation of this is that Trogus avoided what had already been given by Livy. Trogus in book 43 has a section referring to the days of Romulus up to the seizure of the Sabine women. Then it is stated in 43, 3, 2 finitimis populis armis subactis, primo

Italiae, mox orbis imperium quaesitum. There follows (sec. 3) a little piece of antiquarian lore, *per ea tempora adhuc reges hastas pro diademate habebant*, and continuing, the narrative takes up the founding of Massilia and the affairs of the Ligurians in the days of the Tarquins. Book 44 deals with Spain, and tells of Geryon and Habis, and of Viriatus in 44, 2, 7 in tanta saeculorum serie nullus illis dux magnus praeter Viriatum fuit, qui annis decem Romanos varia victoria fatigavit. Florus has in 2, 17, 15 per quattuordecim annos, restating the facts from Livy; see Per. 52 and 54. Although the grandfather of Trogus was in the Sertorian war (J. 43, 5, 11), neither Justinus nor the Prologi make mention of Sertorius. In contrast with this, Florus gives an entire chapter (3, 22) to the war, and Livy (see Per. 90 foll.) described it in such detail that Trogus did not write anything about it.

II. JUSTINUS.

Justinus has a few references which we may assume were true for his own time as well as for that of Trogus. We find in 20, 1, 6 multae urbes . . . vestigia Graeci moris ostentant, and again in sec. 16 Thurinorum urbem condidisse Philocteten ferunt; ibique adhuc monumentum eius visitur, et Herculis sagittae in Apollinis templo, quae fatum Troiae fuere. Metapontini quoque in templo Minervae ferramenta, quibus Epeos, a quo conditi sunt, equum Troianum fabricavit, ostentant. The first of these is evidently complimentary to Augustus (see Suet. Aug. 7). 33, 2, 7 Macedonia . . . libera facta est legesque, quibus adhuc utitur, a Paulo accepit; 41, 5, 6 cuius memoriae hunc honorem Parthi tribuerunt, ut omnes exinde reges suos Arsacis nomine nuncupent. Similar to this are 41, 6, 8; and 41, 1, 1 where are mentioned the extension by Mithridates of the Parthian power to the Euphrates, and the division of the world between the Parthians and the Romans. These last passages, taken in connection with the description of Armenia in 42, 2, 7 foll., show that Justinus wrote before 226 A. D. when the Parthian power was overthrown, and Armenia became a part of the new kingdom. That Justinus would not have left unchanged a statement of such wide political significance, if it were not applicable to his own times, is indicated by 41. 5. 8

Tertius Parthis rex Priapatius fuit, sed et ipse Arsaces dictus. Nam sicut supra dictum est, omnes reges suos hoc nomine, sicuti Romani Caesares Augustosque, cognominavere. We may then safely place the date of Justinus between 226 A. D. and the time at which the Romans began to use *Caesares* and *Augusti* as official titles for the emperors.

The line of the Caesars as is shown by the work of Suetonius was continuous to the reign of Nero, with whom, Suet. Galba 1 progenies Caesarum . . . defecit. Galba, Otho and Vitellius have the title *Imperator*, while Vespasian and his sons are undesignated. But it is said of Otho, Vita 7 ab infima plebe appellatus Nero . . . primisque epistulis . . . Neronis cognomen adiecit; compare Titus 7 denique propalam alium Neronem et opinabantur et praedicabant. The movement toward the title is shown in Nero 46 conclamatum est ab universis: Tu facies, Auguste! and by Vitellius 8 cognomen . . . Augusti distulit, Caesaris in perpetuum recusavit, Vitellius following the example of Tiberius, Suet. Tib. 26 ac ne Augusti quidem nomen, quamquam hereditarium, ullis nisi ad reges ac dynastas epistulis addidit. The words of Ovid, Fasti I, 531

et penes Augustos patriae tutela manebit

are merely a wish, while those of Seneca, de Clem. I, 14, 2 Magnos et Felices et Augustos diximus are complimentary plurals, indicating merely personal attitude. The official recognition of the words as titles came later.

Aelius Spartianus tells us in his life of Helius, Hist. Aug. 2, 2, 1 nihil habet in sua vita memorabile, nisi quod primus tantum Caesar est appellatus, non testamento, ut antea solebat, neque eo modo quo Traianus est adoptatus, sed eo prope genere, quo nostris temporibus a vestra clementia Maximianus atque Constantius Caesares dicti sunt quasi quidam principum filii virtute designati augustae maiestatis heredes. A similar account is found in 2, 2, 6. In 2, 5, 12-14 he gives the official establishment of the title Augustus: Eius est filius Antoninus Verus, qui adoptatus est a Marco, vel certe cum Marco et cum eodem aequale gessit imperium. Nam ipsi sunt qui primi duo Augusti appellati sunt, et quorum fastis consularibus sic nomina praescribuntur, ut dicantur non duo Antonini sed duo Augusti.

Tantumque huius rei et novitas et dignitas valuit, ut fasti consulares nonnulli ab his sumerent ordinem consulum. He also states in 2, 7, 5 his intention of giving the history of all qui vel Caesares vel Augusti vel principes appellati sunt, quique in adoptionem venerunt, vel imperatorum filii aut parentes Caesarum nomine consecrati sunt.

Interpreting the words of Justinus by the facts here stated, he is to be placed between the reign of Hadrian and 226 A. D. If there can be any closer determination of the date, it must be on the basis of the language used.

The words in the Preface 4 Horum igitur quattuor et quadraginta voluminum (nam tot idem edidit) per otium, quo in urbe versabamur, cognitione quaeque dignissima excerpsi et omissis his, quae nec cognoscendi voluptate iucunda nec exemplo erant necessaria, breve veluti florum corpusculum feci, ut haberent et qui Graece didicissent, quo admonerentur, et qui non didicissent, quo instruerentur. These words state the method of Justinus, his object, and let us know that his home was not at Rome.

1. The Prologi of the work of Trogus show that many of the topics presented in the original work are not mentioned at all by Justinus. This is well shown by book 19, one-half of which is taken up with an account of the return of Himilco to Carthage, and book 33 which is reduced to 55 lines giving an introduction to and the closing of the Macedonian War, with an interesting episode—the wonderful daring of M. Cato, son of the orator. The fulness of the details given in the episodes makes it probable that Justinus has transferred intact, or nearly so, a passage from Trogus to his own work. Outside of the episodes we can not tell what changes were made by Justinus in the narrative, though we may assume that his method was similar to that of Orosius in reducing the work of Justinus.

Augustine has the following statement in *de Civ. Dei* 4, 6 *init.* Iustinus, qui Graecam vel potius peregrinam Trogum Pompeium secutus non Latine tantum, sicut ille, verum etiam breviter scripsit historiam, opus librorum suorum sic incipit. Then he gives a quotation exactly reproducing the words of Justinus, and adding qualibet autem fide rerum vel iste vel Trogus scripserit. A statement similar to this is found in 5, 12 Catonis verba sive Sallustii, the latter word indicating the real

author. This utilization of Justinus shows that by the time of Augustine the Epitome had supplanted the original work, and the same is true for Orosius. He uses Justinus, but he has in 4, 6, 1 and 6 Pompeius Trogus et Justinus; and in 1, 8, 2-5 he has a quotation, introduced by the words Pompeius historicus eiusque breviator Iustinus docet, and followed by the words haec Justinus. The quotation in 1, 10, 2-5 is preceded by ait enim Pompeius sive Iustinus hoc modo, while he has in section 6 item Iustinus adserit. These passages show us that though Trogus is mentioned, the work of Orosius is not a parallel one to that of Justinus, but is a reduced reproduction of the work of Justinus, as the work of Justinus was of the work of Trogus.

There are few differences in the statement of facts, and some of these arise from improper condensation, as in J. 11, 5, 1 proficiscens ad Persicum bellum omnes novercae suae cognatos, quos Philippus in excelsiorem dignitatis locum provehens imperiis praefecerat, interfecit: O. 3, 16, 3 profecturus ad Persicum bellum omnes cognatos ac proximos suos interfecit. Two other statements will illustrate some of the ways in which Orosius has varied from Justinus: J. 8, 3, 6 inde veluti rebus egregie gestis in Cappadociam traicit, ubi bello pari perfidia gesto captisque per dolum et occisis finitimis regibus universam provinciam imperio Macedoniae adiungit: O. 3, 12, 18 post haec in Cappadociam transiit, ibique bellum pari perfidia gessit, captos per dolum finitimos reges interfecit totamque Cappadociam imperio Macedoniae subdidit. As in this, synonymous verbs are freely used by Orosius, and finite verbs take the place of ablatives absolute or *vice versa* according as statements are expanded or condensed. Of the great mass of changed statements only a few will be given, illustrating types of changes: Equivalent statements: J. 9, 4, 7 bona omnium occupavit: O. 3, 14, 1 omnes bonis privavit; different prepositional usage: J. 5, 9, 2 ad terrorem omnium interficiunt: O. 2, 17, 7 in exemplum timoremque reliquorum trucidant; *cum* instead of *et*: J. 6, 7, 3 quippe senes et cetera inbellis aetas: O. 3, 2, 6 armati enim senes cum reliqua turba inbellis aetatis; variation in statement of temporal relations: J. 6, 5, 1 quibus rebus cognitis: O. 3, 1, 21 cum comperissent; J. 6, 6, 1 dum haec geruntur . . . legatos mittit, per quos iubet omnes ab armis discedere: O. 3, 1, 25 interea . . . per legatos, ut ab armis discederent . . . imperavit. Variation

in adverbs, and especially in particles, as *velut: quasi, igitur: itaque, quoque: vero, ibi: ubi, interim: interea, non solum: non tantum* is noticeable, as well as with some other correlatives: J. 2, 9, 12 pugnatum est tanta virtute, ut hinc viros, inde pecudes putares: O. 2, 8, 10 tanta in eo bello diversitas certandi fuit, ut ex alia parte viri ad occidendum parati, ex alia pecudes ad moriendum praeparatae putarentur. Changes in the order of words meet us at every turn, as in J. 2, 14, 7 eodem forte die . . . etiam navali proelio in Asia sub monte Mycale adversus Persas dimicatum est: O. 2, 11, 4 nam forte eodem die . . . pars Persici exercitus in Asia sub monte Mycale navali proelio dimicabat.

2. The words of Justinus *per otium quo in urbe versabamur* show that his home was not at Rome. If not an Italian, was he an African? To determine the probability of this we shall compare his phraseology with that of some of the representatives of the African school—Florus, Apuleius, Tertullian and Arnobius. And in making the comparisons we must bear in mind the limitations of each. The work of Justinus professes to be a book of excerpts, and we need expect only such evidences of originality as are called for in welding together the selected portions of Trogus with a slightly changed syntax and vocabulary to suit the usage of the time of Justinus. It is not possible to determine definitely what is due to Justinus, and what is the residue from Trogus. Forty per cent. of the vocabulary of Justinus is not found in Caesar, and in this mass are about two hundred abstract nouns. As an illustration we take the word *successio*, mostly post-Augustan, with examples quoted from Tacitus, Suetonius, Justinus and Apuleius. Yet Schirmer¹ calls attention to the fact that the word occurs five times in the letters of Caelius. Justinus has in II, I, 8 *pro contione* which is not used by Caesar and Cicero, yet is found in a letter of Pollio, Cic. ad Farn. 10, 31, 5, and is the prevailing form in Tacitus and Suetonius. These are illustrations of the possibility that in the works of Brutus, of Caelius, of Calvus, of Pollio and of Trogus, may have been freely used many expressions which are catalogued as late, because by chance they are found in Justinus and in writers near his time.

¹ K. Schirmer, Ueber die Sprache des M. Brutus in den bei Cicero überlieferten Briefen. Progr. Metz, 1884.

However, as the father of Trogus had the care of the epistles of Caesar it is not too much to assume that the style of the son was a reflection of the style of Caesar, and that stylistic variations from Caesar, in harmony with a later usage, are due to Justinus. As an illustration of this we may take the final infinitive. Occasionally used by poets, it is avoided by the Plinies, Quintilian, Suetonius and Tacitus, but is found in Apuleius, Gellius and Justinus. We may well distrust the correctness of the text of earlier examples which are cited, and believe that Justinus was one of the first of the prose writers using the construction. Justinus has in 18, 1, 1 *et ipsis auxilio adversus Romanos indigentibus*, a post-Augustan construction of *indigens* with the ablative; instances of which are to be found in the works of Seneca, as in B. 4, 3, 2 *reges aliena ope non indigentes*.

At the head of the recognized African writers is Florus, if you will, historian, poet, rhetorician; see Wölfflin, *Archiv* 6, 1 foll. He does not make excerpts as does Justinus, but he takes some of the material of Livy, and weaves it into a new fabric. A few passages will illustrate this: F. 1, 1, 6 *gemini erant*: L. 1, 6, 4 *quoniam gemini essent*; F. 1, 1, 16 *cum contionem haberet ante urbem apud Caprae paludem, e conspectu ablatum est*: L. 1, 16, 1 *cum contionem in campo ad Caprae paludem haberet, subito coorta tempestas . . . tam denso regem operuit nimbo, ut conspectum eius contioni abstulerit*; F. 1, 7, 2 *regnum . . . rapere maluit quam expectare*: L. 1, 47, 2 *defuisse . . . qui habere quam sperare regnum mallet*; F. 1, 13, 5 *ab ultimis terrarum oris et cingente omnia Oceano*: L. 5, 37, 2 *ab Oceano terrarumque ultimis oris bellum ciente*; F. 2, 6, 7 *'in hoc ego sinu bellum pacemque porto; utrum eligitis?' succlamantibus bellum, 'bellum igitur' inquit 'accipite'*. Et excusso in media curia togae gremio non sine horrore, quasi plane sinu bellum ferret, effudit: L. 21, 18, 13 *tum Romanus sinu ex toga facto 'Hic' inquit 'vobis bellum et pacem portamus: utrum placet, sumite'*. Sub hanc vocem haud minus ferociter, daret utrum vellet, succlamatum est. Et cum is iterum sinu effuso bellum dare dixisset, accipere se omnes responderunt.

Apuleius, fabulist, philosopher, pleader, gives the completest example of secular African Latinity. But there are some

noticeable differences between his *Metamorphoses* and the remainder of his works. As a temporal particle, *ut* occurs only in the former, and also nearly all the instances of *ubi*. *Donec* is also limited to the same work, and *quoad* also with the exception of Flor. 2, 14, 47 *quoad* vixit; and de Magia 58, 523 *quoad* habitavit. *Quippe* occurs about one-third as frequently in the *Metamorphoses* as in his other works, in the first most freely with *cum*, in the latter with *qui*.

Tertullian '*acris et vehementis igenii*', and Arnobius, *expugnator et propugnator fidei*, are both prolific in expression, and for this reason their vocabulary has but very little in common with that of Justinus. There is however one rhetorical feature common to them all.

Play on words, whether as rhyme (see Wölfflin, Archiv 1, 350 foll., Der Reim im Lateinischen) or as alliteration (see Wölfflin, Archiv 3, 443 foll., Zur Allitteration und zum Reime), is a noticeable feature of the African school, and Apuleius and Tertullian are among the best representatives; see H. Hoppe, Syntax und Stil des Tertullian, pp. 162-172; sec. 5 Der Reim; sec. 6 Das Wortspiel. Some good illustrations are found in Justinus: 4, 1, 10 nunc hic fremitum . . . nunc illic gemitum, on which Wölfflin remarks "ganz afrikanisch". 6, 1, 5 different bella, quam gerant; 24, 5, 10 nomina sicuti numina; 31, 7, 9 belli ea inritamenta, non pacis blandimenta. The words are sometimes akin: 11, 5, 10 iaculum . . . iecit; 18, 4, 12 involucris involuta; 43, 4, 10 insidianti regi insidiae praetenduntur; 13, 8, 6 insidiae in insidiatores versae, et qui securum adgressuros se putabant, securis . . . occursum est. As in the last example, contrasts of the different cases are found: 12, 12, 9 Antipatri . . . Antipatrum; 12, 15, 10 viro forti . . . virum fortem; 18, 2, 2 externo . . . externis. We find the same usage with verbs also: 5, 6, 8 cum paulo ante salutem desperaverint, nunc non desperent victoriam; 5, 8, 8 mutato statu . . . condicio mutatur; 11, 14, 4 patere . . . patuerit; 12, 6, 5 modo personam occisi, modo causam occidendi considerans.

In discussing the functions of an orator, Fronto has on page 139 N. castella verborum, conciliabula verborum loco, gradus, pondera, aetates dignitatesque dinoscere . . . quae ratio sit verba geminandi et interdum trigeminandi, nonnumquam quadriplicia, saepe quinquies aut eo amplius superlata ponendi. In

Fronto's own letters three terms are most freely used. In this respect the usage has the widest sweep in Apuleius and Arnobius, the number of terms given ranging from three to a dozen. Occurrences are not uncommon in Justinus, e. g. 5, 6, 9 *neque* is miles . . . *neque* eae vires . . . *neque* ea scientia; 5, 7, 5 *non* pueros imprudentia, *non* senes debilitas, *non* mulieres sexus imbecillitas domi tenet. So far as these features are concerned the color of the narrative in Justinus is like that of the African writers. An archaistic color also is not lacking, and among the terms discussed by Wölfflin (Archiv 7, 467 foll., Minucius Felix) as archaistic touches, Justinus has *prosapia*, *perpes*, *indolesco*, and *in totum*; see Archiv 4, 146.

Other evidences of the African character of the Latinity of Justinus is found in the African Inscriptions. B. Kübler (Archiv 8, 161 foll., Die lateinische Sprache auf afrikan. Inschriften) in the list of words given shows that in some respects the vocabulary of the inscriptions is similar to that of Justinus. This is most noticeable in the use of abstracts in *-tas*, *aeternitas*, *exiguitas*, *frugalitas*, *levitas*, *posteritas*, and *pubertas*. Of adjectives in *-alis* are given *extemporalis*, *venalis* and (*matronalis*). Here as in Justinus are found *supra modum*, *circa* = *erga*, *una cum*, *nec non et*, *pariter ac* and *et*. Considering that Fronto does not use *ad instar* which is found in Justinus 36, 3, 2, Wölfflin, Archiv 2, 590, holds that Justinus is later than Fronto. Apuleius uses the phrase most freely, and occurrences are not lacking in other African writers. *Adunatis iv regibus* is in the ablative, as in most of the passages of Justinus in which this favorite verb is found. Instead of *pluvia*, Justinus has *imber* which is found eleven times in the inscriptions. *Grandis* and *modicus*, and perhaps *natalis* for *natalis dies* occur in both. Here are also found expressions similar to some used by Florus and Apuleius, e. g. *amator studiorum*: Florus 1, 1, 5 *ipse fluminis amator et montium*; *columen morum*: Apul. Flor. 3, 16, 73 *ad honoris mei tribunal et columen*. If these expressions illustrate the African coloring of the narrative of Florus and Apuleius, they may be held to do the same for that of Justinus.

There are a few other rhetorical features in which the coloring does not differ from that of the African writers. All agree in the limited use of *etsi* and *quamvis*, Justinus having the latter but once. *Licet*, not in Florus nor Suetonius, occurs twice in

Justinus, and more freely in Apuleius. They also agree in the limited use of *tamquam*, but differ widely with *velut* and *quasi*. In the use of the formula *non modo . . . sed etiam* and its equivalents, Justinus, Apuleius, Tertullian and Arnobius are alike in the tendency to use *verum* instead of *sed*, but the usage with *modo*, *solum* and *tantum* varies.

The list of individual constructions and expressions found in Justinus and the African writers is a long one, but only the most important need be mentioned. A *quod*-clause, instead of the accusative and infinitive, is noticeable in Justinus, and flourishes in Apuleius, and the same is true of words in *-bundus*. *Temporis* with *tum* or *tunc* is found in Just. 1, 4, 4; 3, 6, 6; 31, 2, 6; Apul. Met. 3, 4, 180; 10, 13, 700; 11, 24, 804; and Tert. de Baptismo 14 *tunc temporis ad Corinthios scripta sunt*. The cor-relatives *primum . . . mox* and *hinc . . . inde* are not unusual. Some of the words are well suited for Christian usage. Cicero uses *fragilitas* and *infirmetas*, but Seneca seems to have given them universal application, as in Ep. 15, 12 *oblitus fragilitatis humanae*. Compare with this Just. 23, 3, 12 *in ostentationem fragilitatis humanae*; and Apul. Met. 9, 18, 627 which resemble Arnobius 6, 2 *infirmetas humanae*; cf. Min. Felix 12, 3 *nondum agnoscis fragilitatem*. *Pagani*, *parvuli*, *praesumptio*, and *reatus* may be placed in the same class. We find in Arnobius 1, 40 *patibulo adfixus*; and in 1, 62 *patibulo pendere*. In Justinus *patibulum* occurs twice with *suffigere*, 22, 7, 8; and 30, 2, 7; and also in Apul. Met. 6, 31, 443; and 10, 12, 700; cf. 4, 10, 259; and 6, 32, 445. The use of the word for *crux* judging by the occurrences in these three writers would seem to be African. With their statements we may compare Suet. Jul. Caes. 74 *suffixurum cruci*; Dom. 11 c. *figeret*. *Compesco*, *delitesco*, *indubitatus*, *inexpiabilis*, *parricidalis* and *poenalis* are also common to Justinus and the Christian writers.

There are a number of terms, chiefly secular, which tell the same story as those already mentioned. Tides external and internal are indicated by *aestus*; Just. 23, 3, 8 *periculorum*; Florus 2, 7, 1 *quodam quasi aestu et torrente fortunae*; 4, 2, 64 *quidam fugae a*; Just. 11, 13, 3 *magno se aestu liberatum*; Apul. Met. 3, 1, 172 *aestus invadit animum*. Both Justinus and Apuleius (Met. 10, 3, 684; and de Magia 64, 536) have

causa et origo; cf. Arnobius 2, 52 c. atque o. nascendi. *Commilitium*, *divisio*, *ducatus*, *medela*, *pernicitas* (see Archiv 8, 452), *proeliator*, *proventus*, *respectu*, and *tirocinia* are among the nouns showing the African connections of Justinus. *Interiecto tempore* and similar expressions are characteristic of Justinus, and are found in Apul. Met. 7, 20, 485 nec multis i. diebus; 10, 27, 729 paucis; 7, 23, 491 spatio modico i.; as also in Sen. B. 3, 1, 2. *Iterato* is freely used by Justinus and is found in Apul. Met. 9, 25, 641, as also in Tert. adv. Iud. 13. *Nihil tale metuentes* occurs in Justinus 25, 2, 6; and Florus 2, 12, 5; cf. Sen. D. 12, 15, 2. Compare Justinus 19, 3, 12 obseratis foribus with Apul. Met. 9, 2, 596; 10, 19, 713 fore; 8, 14, 546 valvis. We find in Just. 31, 5, 3 veniam deinde libertati praefatus; Apul. Met. 1, 1, 9 en ecce praefamur v.; 11, 23, 802 praefatus deum v.; Flor. 1, 1, 3 praefanda v.; de Mag. 75, 551 honos auribus p. The arrangement *versa vice* which begins with Seneca, occurs also in Justinus and Apuleius; see Archiv 4, 67.

There are a few points in the use of pronouns which are worthy of notice. Sallust has in Iug. 9, 4 huiuscemodi, and to this may be due Just. 29, 2, 7 h. oratione. It is also used by Apul. in Met. 2, 12, 117; 9, 18, 628; de Mag. 13, 415 versibus. Paul Thielman, Archiv 7, 362 Der Ersatz des Reciprocums im Lateinischen, *Invicem*, *Mutuo*, *Vicissim*, presents the case for these words with the reflexive, showing that "Völlig durchgedrungen ist inv.+Ref. zur Zeit der Antonine". The use of *mutuus* is the same, though Justinus does not have *vicissim* with the reflexive. Combinations of *velut* and *quasi* with *quidam* are of frequent occurrence in Justinus, Florus and Apuleius, though as freely used by some other writers. Of adjectives not freely used may be given *inexplebilis*, *infantilis*, and *insatiabilis*. *Perpes* and *pervigil* have the same associations, as also *venerebilis*: Just. 42, 3, 5 v. nomen (Alexandri); Apul. Met. 3, 29, 231 v. principis n. *Aliquantisper*, *qualitercumque* and *vix . . . aegre* are limited to a few writers, and for that reason are not least in importance in a discussion of the relations of Justinus. However, he has the last words separated in 9, 7, 6 vix . . . mitigatus est . . . aegre compulsus, while other writers have them connected, usually by *et*; see Archiv 7, 467. Justinus and Apuleius have *ferme*, while *simul* with a connective has not infrequently lost its temporal force. Notice Just. 6, 3, 6 gloriam

diversis artibus quam priores duces consecuturus; and Florus 2, 2, 24 diversa quam hostis mandaverat censuit.

There are a few points of interest in the prepositional usage. The use of *ad instar* seems to link Justinus with the age of Apuleius, and *ad postremum*, which is characteristic of Justinus, occurs also a few times in Apuleius. *Apud* in local connections, though used in this way a few times by Justinus, is not as fully developed as in Florus, who has it in some passages where Livy uses *ad*. The original local association of *pone* is retained in Just. 7, 2, 8. Apuleius is freest in the use of the word, and has it six times with *terga*, while Justinus has in 1, 6, 11 post *terga*. Justinus has *usque* with both *ad* and *in*, and without either, and in both temporal and local relations, e. g. 33, 2, 6 Persen; 1, 1, 6 Aegyptum; 42, 2, 8 a Cappadocia usque mare Caspium. On the basis of this usage Wölfflin, Archiv 4, 55, maintains that Justinus must be placed after Tacitus and Suetonius, and adds "Da nun die christliche Litteratur, wie wir gleich zeigen werden, die Zurückhaltung des Tacitus und Sueton nicht teilt, so wird man geneigt sein den Justin in der Christengemeinde zu suchen". Here may belong Just. 5, 8, 5 Piraeum versus; Apul. Met. 9, 21, 632 forum v.; 10, 13, 700; and 11, 26, 809 Romam v.

The particles in Justinus present some interesting features. Noticeable among them is *atque ita*, which occurs nearly three score times, as in 2, 4, 25 Hercules . . . pretium . . . accepit. *Atque ita* functus imperio ad regem revertitur; 12, 12, 4 ait . . . crediturum. *Atque ita* iuvenes . . . legit; 43, 4, 9 ille rem . . . defert; *atque ita* . . . comprehenduntur. There are occasional instances in Florus, e. g. 2, 12, 3 Thracas in res suas traxerant, *atque ita* industriam . . . temperavere; 4, 10, 5 sic quoque hostem fortasse non defore. *Atque ita* secuta est minor vis hostium. In Arnobius there are at least seven occurrences, and here and there one in Tertullian. *Forsitan*, with adjective or noun, is found in Just. 4, 5, 3 graviora et forsitan feliciora bella; 24, 7, 3 et animos hostibus, forsitan et auxilia accessura; and in Apul. Met. 7, 21, 488 lites *atque iurgia* immo forsitan et crimina pariet. *Igitur*, resuming the narrative after a suspension, is found in Justinus and Florus, as in Just. 11, 7, 14 post hunc filius Mida regnavit . . . *Igitur* Alexander . . . requisivit. Mithridates is mentioned in 42, 3, 2, and then chapter 4, 1 continues, *igitur* M.; Florus 1, 1, 4 cuius ex filia Romulus.

Igitur prima iuventutis face patrum deturbat; 1, 4, 1 Ancus deinde Marcius . . . igitur et muro moenia amplexus est; 2, 6, 2 puer Hannibal . . . iuraverat, nec morabatur. Igitur in causam belli Saguntos electa est. In Just. 15, 1, 8 additis insuper muneribus; and 24, 4, 9 addita insuper contumelia, *insuper* is placed within the parts of an ablative absolute, as in Florus 1, 18, 6 addito i. ferarum terrore; cf. 1, 13, 17; 2, 2, 17; Apul. Met. 7, 18, 481; see Archiv 5, 355. *Desuper* in Just. 21, 6, 6 vacua d. cera inducta, is similar to Florus 2, 6, 6 rogam, tum d. se suosque . . . corrumpunt; 3, 2, 6 turres, et d. . . tropaea fixerunt. *Pariter* like *simul* is used by Justinus and Apuleius merely to strengthen the connective, as in Just. 1, 10, 20; 25, 1, 8 opes p. et negligentiam; 9, 8, 8 blandus p. et insidiosus; 28, 4, 7 suo p. et hostium cruore; 12, 11, 2 exactio p. ac solutio; 38, 8, 11 sorori p. ac patriae; Apul. Met. 2, 15, 124 mari p. ac terrae; Just. 8, 1, 3 victos p. victoresque. *Prorsus* is one of the favorites of Justinus, and is used in three connections; a. with adjectives; b. with *ut*; and c. with *quasi*. a. In Justinus *prorsus* follows the adjective, as in 8, 2, 11; and 12, 3, 11 immemor p. Apuleius also uses the word freely, as in Met. 1, 23, 71 deque hac virginali p. verecundia. b. *Prorsus ut* with a consecutive clause comes next in frequency, in four out of the seven occurrences with some form of *videre*, as also in the three instances in Florus. *Incertum sit* is used in Just. 2, 1, 4; and 24, 6, 7; see Archiv 4, 619. In Apuleius the statement is comparative in Met. 9, 14, 620 prorsus ut in . . . latrinam. c. *Prorsus* occurs with *quasi* half a dozen times in Justinus, and occasionally in Apuleius: Met. 8, 27, 582; 9, 9, 611 p. q. possent tanti facinoris evadere supplicium. In common with Suetonius, both Justinus and Apuleius use *sed et*; see Draeger 2, 110.

3. The educational aim of Justinus was realized, for, as we have seen, his abbreviation supplanted the original work of Trogus. The suggestion for the work may have come from that of Florus. If so he intended to put the work of Trogus on a level with that of Livy, so far as it could be done by means of an Epitome. If this assumption is a valid one, it is an added indication that Justinus was an African, and that he had been subject to the influence of Florus, not necessarily as a pupil, but at least through his school training. While we may assume a connection between Justinus and Florus, we may also assume

that there was none between Florus and Fronto. The basis for this is the account of the rings carried to Carthage after the battle of Cannae. We find in Livy 23, 12, 1 *effundi in vestibulo curiae iussit anulos aureos, qui tantus acervus fuit, ut metientibus supra tris modios explesse sint quidam auctores; fama tenuit, quae propior vero est, haud plus fuisse modio*. The *equites* are mentioned later in the account. The least amount is accepted in Per. 23 *anulos aureos corporibus occisorum detractos, in vestibulo curiae effudit, quos excessisse modii mensuram traditur*. Florus gives a slightly different account 2, 6, 18 *modii duo anulorum Carthaginem missi dignitasque equestris taxata mensura*. The statement of the *quidam auctores* is accepted by Val. Max. 7, 2, Ext. 16 Magone . . . *anulos aureos trium modiorum mensuram explentes fundente, qui interfectis nostris civibus detracti erant; and the latter is repeated by Fronto, p. 220 N., anulorum aureorum, quos caesis equitibus Romanis Poeni detraxerant, tres modios cumulos misit Carthaginem*. It is equally clear that neither Fronto nor Gellius were familiar with Justinus nor with Seneca. Gellius in 19, 8 tells how Fronto corrected a friend of his, a *bene eruditus homo et tum poeta inlustris*, who had been healed *quod 'harenis calentibus' esset usus*. The chapter ends with the words *harenas . . . praeter C. Caesarem, quod equidem meminerim, nemo id doctorum hominum dedit*. Yet Seneca uses it, as in D. 6, 18, 6; Ep. 55, 2; and 115, 8, and *moles harenarum* is found in Just. 1, 9, 3; 4, 1, 6; 15, 3, 11. This apparent disregard of the diction of Seneca suggests a new line of approach for the study of Justinus.

Seneca was subject to the cutting sarcasm of Caligula (Suet. Cal. 53), was criticised by Quintilian (10, 1, 125-131), and carped at by Fronto (p. 155-6 N.) and Gellius (12, 2). Tacitus indicates only the position of Seneca, in Ann. 12, 8, 9 *ob claritudinem studiorum eius*, while Suet. Nero 52 does not highly commend him: *a philosophia eum mater avertit . . . a cognitione veterum oratorum Seneca praeceptor, quo diutius in admiratione sui detineret*. With the tide of criticism setting in so strong against him it is not strange that he seems to have dropped out of sight at Rome, and that Epictetus and Marcus Aurelius who were philosophically akin to him do not mention his name at all. But in Africa it was far different. By the

time of Tertullian, born about 160 A. D., the place of Seneca among the Christians was secure, for Tertullian says of him in *de Anima* 20, introducing a quotation from *Sen. de Benef.*, *Seneca saepe noster*. In *Apol.* 50 he also mentions *In Fortuitis*, and in sec. 42, and in *de Res. Carnis* 1 he refers to the *Troades*. Augustine, *de Civ. Dei* 6, 10 and 11, almost claims Seneca as an ally *adfuit enim scribenti, viventi defuit*. In the *Confessiones* 5, 6, 11 he places Tullius and Seneca in the same category. In passing we might say that his mention of Madaura (2, 3, 5) suggests the possibility that Seneca was taught in the school at that place, and so was well known to Apuleius. Midway between Tertullian and Augustine a free use of Seneca was made by Lactantius. The above indicates the close connection of the works of Seneca with African instruction, and suggests that he, rejected by the Roman rhetoricians, had become the corner of the instruction in Africa.

The extent and the strength of the opposition to Seneca at Rome evidences his influence in bringing into the current of Latin expression modifications of the phraseology of Cicero. This will be the more clear if we consider that the *Dialogus de Oratoribus* is a protest against the spirit of the work of Seneca. But between the age of Seneca and that of the Antonines came the Plinies, Quintilian, Suetonius and Tacitus, and if an element is found in any two of these it can not be told from which of the two it came to African Latinity, even if it came from either. Yet considering that Seneca was recognized as an educational force by the African Christians, the appearance of elements common to him and to the Africans at least shows the possibility of the influence of Seneca, through the use of his works in schools such as that at Madaura. As illustrations of this possibility we shall give a few words. *Dignus* with the infinitive is not in Vell. Paterc., Suetonius and Tacitus; but occurs in Seneca, Quintilian, Gellius and Apuleius, while the same construction with *dedignari* is found in Seneca, the *Annals* of Tacitus, and Justinus. The inf. with *impero*, starting with Seneca, is found in Justinus as is *praecipere* also, and both the verbs are freely so used by Suetonius. It is not too much to assume that in the case of these words it was the usage of Seneca which influenced the African writers. But in the use of *vix et aegre* there is no intermediary for they occur in *Sen. Ep.* 118, 17;

Florus 2, 10, 3; Apul. Met. 1, 19, 63; and in 1, 14, 52 vix tandem et aegerrime; Arnobius 3, 11 aegre atque aegerrime; and in Just. 9, 7, 6 vix . . . aegre. Draeger 1, 327, 7, under the imperatives of deponents with middle meaning, quotes only Sen. N. Q. 4 Praef. 5 formare "*bilde dich*"; Apul. Met. 1, 19, 62 explere latice fontis lacteo "*trinke dich satt*"; and 11, 29, 816 rursum sacris initiare "*lass dich weihen*". Also at 1, 334 are quoted from Seneca and Apuleius examples of direct questions where the indirect might be expected. Seneca has in Ep. 12, 1 inter manus, which is also found in several passages in Apuleius. *Alternis* is used ten times by Seneca, as in Ep. 120, 19 *al. . . al.*; and by Just. in 2, 4, 12 *vicibus . . . al.*, while Apuleius has *alterna* in Met. 10, 17, 710. Sen., Ep. 1, 2; and D. 10, 9, 1, has pendet ex crastino, and Apuleius, *crastino* in Met. in 2, 11, 116; 6, 31, 444. Florus has in 2, 17, 11 *opima* without *spolia*, as also Sen. in Herc. Fur. 48. There are a few points in the prepositional usage in which Seneca agrees as well as disagrees with the African writers. *Ex* causal is found in Sen. Ep. 12, 9; Just. 3, 2, 4; and Apul. Met. 1, 2, 11. Florus has in 2, 3, 4 *ex occasione* the same as Seneca and Suetonius. Livy has the phrase, but we should expect in Florus the more common form *per o*. The usage with *obtentu* and *titulo* is not the same, as Seneca has *sub titulo*, and Justinus *sub obtentu*. The following are given as points of agreement: Sen. D. 9, 2, 5 ex quo agnosceret quisque partem suam; Just. 33, 2, 8 in patriam suam quisque remissus est; cf. Florus 1, 13, 10; 4, 2, 12; B. 7, 19, 8 in ore parentum liberos iugulat; Just. 31, 2, 3 in oculis observari. They also agree in the use of *inexplebilis*, *contremisco* with the accusative, and of *compesco* which is freely used by Seneca instead of *comprimo*. *Calco* used in a metaphorical sense is characteristic of Seneca, while *desaevio*, chiefly poetical, occurs in Sen. Ep. 15, 8; and D. 5, 1, 1 dum tempestas prima desaevit. The latter finds a parallel in Florus 2, 6, 12 secunda Punici belli procella desaevit. *Nec non et* for which Kübler (Archiv 8, 181) and Lease (Archiv 10, 390) furnish lists, is not unknown to Seneca: B. 5, 20, 5 quod ipse praestare voluisset nec non et debuisset.

The greater freedom of Apuleius and his extension of the use of the *quod*-clause instead of the subject acc. with the infinitive, lead us to place Justinus before the time of Apuleius.

At the same time there are two passages which Apuleius might easily have selected from Justinus for his own use in his own way. The first of these is Met. 10, 31, 741 *si sibi praemium . . . addixisset, et sese regnum totius Asiae tributuram*, the promise of Venus to the Trojan Alexander, while Just. 11, 7, 4 *nexum si quis solvisset, eum tota Asia regnaturum*, found its fulfilment in the Grecian Alexander. Apuleius writes in Met. 1, 2, 11 *postquam ardua montium et lubrica vallium et roscida cespitum et glebosa camporum emensi*. Justinus has in 41, 1, 11 *ut non immensa tantum ac profunda camporum, verum etiam praeupta collium montiumque ardua occupaverint*. The position and arrangement of *ardua montium*, the change in connectives, the lack of differentiation in *immensa . . . profunda*, and in *cespitum . . . camporum*, make one passage seem the rhetorical development of the other. Seneca has *blandimentum* and *inritamentum* several times, as in Ep. 51, 5 i. *vitiorum . . . b. voluptatum*, but in D. 5, 9, 2 *lituos et tubas concitamenta esse, sicut quosdam cantus blandimenta*. Justinus has in 31, 7, 9 *belli ea inritamenta, non pacis blandimenta esse*; and Apul. de Magia 98, 593 *blandimentis . . . illectamentis*. The words *concitamenta* and *illectamenta* are unusual, but the reversal of the order of the terms by Apuleius at least suggests the words of Justinus as the basis of his own. If these assumptions are valid, then the position assigned to Justinus after Fronto on the basis of the usage with *ad instar* is not tenable; see Archiv 2, 590 "Auch beweist die Stelle von *ad instar* bei Justin 36, 3, 2 . . . dass der Epitomator nach Fronto gesetzt werden muss."

If the development of Latin were along one line only the usage with *usque* and *ad instar* would seem to place Justinus after Fronto. But Seneca has *instar* in Thyest. 873 *fluminis*; D. 12, 1, 4 *consolationis*; and in Ep. 61, 1 *vitae*. See also in Ep. 53, 1 a *Parthenope tua usque Puteolos*. The usage with both terms in Seneca is as near to that of Justinus as is the usage of Fronto, and if Justinus had studied Seneca, the step from *usque ad* to *usque*, and from *instar* to *ad instar* would be as easy for a student follower of Seneca, as it would be for a historical follower of Fronto. The testimony of Servius, ad Aen. 6, 685 *ad instar enim non dicimus*, indicates that to him the African usage was unknown; and we maintain that the witnesses brought forward do not prove that Justinus wrote later than Fronto.

In his vocabulary Fronto has little of note that is used by Justinus. *Pernicitas*, *huiuscemodi*, *invicem se* and *tametsi* . . . *tamen* are the most noticeable. And the limited number of these make more important some passages in the letters written in 144 A. D., ad M. Caesarem, IV, p. 58 foll. N.

It is interesting to note that although *advena* occurs in Just. 2, 1, 6; 2, 5, 3; and 2, 6, 4 quippe non advena neque passim populi conluviis originem urbi dedit, *convena* occurs only in 38, 7, 1 clariorem illa conluvie convenarum, as in Fronto, p. 58 N., diversis nationibus convenae variis moribus inbuti. The phraseology in Fronto, p. 63 N., caput atque fons Romanae facundiae, is varied in Just. 13, 6, 11 ad ipsum fontem et caput regni; Arnobius 2, 2; and Lactantius 5, 14, 11; and there is a further variation in Gellius 10, 20, 7 caput ipsum et origo et quasi fons; cf. Florus 3, 6, 12 in o. fontemque belli. It should be noticed that Justinus has *causa et origo* in earlier passages 1, 7, 2; 3, 4, 2; 8, 1, 4; and 11, 7, 5, and that the same combination is used by Apuleius and Arnobius; see p. 32. We find in Fronto, p. 59 N., ut amicos ac sectatores suos amore inter se mutuo copularet. Compare with this Just. 26, 1, 3 aut . . . societatem iungebant aut mutuis inter se odiis in bellum ruebant. This is the sole instance of *m. inter se* in Just., and though he does not have *copulo*, he has *iungo* in one part of his statement, and, in the other, reverses the order of the noun and adjective as used by Fronto. In Florus 4, 2, 33; Apul. de Mundo 5, 297; and Dogm. Plat. 1, 11, 203 *inter se* is not inclosed between adjective and noun. Just. has in 41, 4, 4 dum invicem eripere sibi regnum volunt; and Fronto, p. 59 N., invideant i. amici tui sibi. The separation of *invicem* and *sibi* is the same in both, and in addition, these are the only passages in the two writers in which *invicem* is used with *sibi*. The use of *convena* instead of the earlier *advena*; of *fons et caput* instead of the earlier *causa et origo*, and varying from Fronto's *c. atque f.*; of *mutuis inter se odiis*, a variation of *amore inter se mutuo*; and of *invicem* . . . *sibi* indicates a complimentary use of two letters of the ex-consul, about a year after his consulship. If the above conclusions are valid the date for Justinus is 144 or 145 A. D.

Let us summarize the conclusions to which we have come. The absence of any mention of Sertorius who was so closely connected with the history of the family indicates that Trogus

considered the account of Livy entirely adequate, and that he wrote after Books 90-96 of Livy dealing with the Sertorian war were published. The date of publication is more definitely shown by the adaptation of a line from the first book of Phaedrus. Stylistic resemblances show that Justinus was an African, and his own statements fix his date between the reign of Hadrian and 226 A. D. But it is probable that he was influenced by the writings of Seneca, and for this reason his use of *ad instar* and *usque* do not have any weight in fixing his date after Fronto. On the other hand the more restricted usage of Justinus at certain points renders it probable that he came before Apuleius, and this view is strengthened by the apparent rhetorical development by Apuleius of two statements in Justinus. There is no indication of any connection between Florus and Fronto, although from the work of the former may have come the suggestion for the work of Justinus. But there are four pieces of phraseology in Justinus apparently directly based on the words of Fronto found in two letters written in 144 A. D. And these seem to fix definitely the date of the sojourn of Justinus at Rome and the preparation of his work in 144 or 145 A. D.

R. B. STEELE.

VANDERBILT UNIVERSITY, NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE.

III.—PAULUS SILENTIARIUS.

PART I.

As part of an appalling task, the translation of the entire Greek Anthology into Italian verse—'quell'eterno mio lavoro' he calls it 'cui non so se condurrò mai a fine'—Professor Alessandro Veniero of Catania, the Aitna of Pindar, the coquettish city of Bellini, has undertaken to do for Paulus Silentarius what others have done and more than others have done for other anthologists. Meleager, Krinagoras and Palladas have called forth noteworthy monographs. Why should not the author of epigrams 'remarkable for their wit, their grace, their elegance', a poet who rose far above the level of his contemporaries, happy rival of Alexandrian masters, singer of the great church of St. Sophia and its Pulpit, why should not Paulus have a volume dedicated to him, a volume which should serve to vindicate the favourable judgment of Jacobs and Bernhardt and Croiset? Professor Veniero's book with its introduction, its translations, its notes has interested me and, as is my inveterate habit (A. J. P. XXXIV 240), I have made a summary of it for my own amusement. Much, indeed by far the greatest part, of this kind of work has been consigned to the columbarium that holds most of my writings, but I am going to make an exception in favour, if it is in favour, of Professor Veniero's Paolo Silenziario—Studio della letteratura bizantina del VI secolo, and call in others to accompany me on my winding way through the book.

Doubtless Professor Veniero will be shocked at the liberties I have taken with my text, at my frivolities, my intercalated reflexions, my style, that style which gave so much offence to such superior persons as the late Arthur Woolgar Verrall (A. J. P. XXVI 115). But criticism and anticriticism alike matter little to a man who in the course of nature is ripening for the *ἐπιτύμβια* section of the Anthology. No one who has cheerfully survived being called by a German well-wisher the Mark Twain of Greek syntax and by an Irish ill-wisher, the fabricator of a Pindaric 'nostrum', has anything more to

dread. But whatever Professor Veniero may think of form or content of these pages, he may congratulate himself on finding a summarist who makes due allowance for the astounding plenitude of typographical errors. The best Italian compositors, as I have learned from other sources, have exchanged the 'shooting-sticks' of their own trade for the 'shooting-irons' of another on the banks of the Isonzo.

This is not a 'review by a specialist' for I have no special equipment for the study of Paulus. Sixty-two years ago in my first published review article I made an erudite reference to the poet who 'hymned the Pulpit', but at that date I had not read a line of Paulus, and now after the lapse of all these years I am simply going to deepen my slight impressions of the Byzantine epigrammatist as gained from holiday excursions in the Anthology. With Professor Veniero's essay on Paulus' Description of the Church of St. Sophia and the Pulpit, I shall not meddle. Twenty years ago I stood under the dome of the great Djami and thought of Paulus among other things and wondered whether it was true that the musk with which the mortar was tempered retained its virtue as it was fabled to do. But the scowling Moslems would not have suffered me to try, and I must limit myself to the question how far the delicate fragrance of Alexandria has held its own against the heavier perfume of Byzantium.

Professor Veniero's first chapter deals with the Life of Paulus. Paulus the Silentiary was the son of Cyrus, the grandson of Florus. The name Cyrus gives us pause. It has a religious significance, and old-fashioned Presbyterians who would not have dreamed of calling their children by the name of Messiah, and were shocked at the profane use of Jesus by the Spaniards, did not hesitate to give their boys the name of the Lord's anointed Cyrus in baptism. Perhaps some Byzantine scholar will throw light upon the point.¹ Florus is decidedly pagan, and it might be possible to moralize the two names. Paulus was born towards the close of the fifth century and lived to what, in spite of Metchnikoff, we must still call a good old age,

¹ Among the Christian epigrams there is one addressed to a certain Cyrus, a martyr: *Κύρω ἀκεστορίῃς παννύκτερά μετρα λαχόντι*, A. P. I 90.

dying in 575 A. D.—I am careful to add A. D. mindful of the weakness of other Italian scholars (A. J. P. XXIII 446; cf. XXXII 240) and of Johnson's *Cyclopaedia* s. v. Lucian where B. C. stands instead of A. D. Paulus belonged to a rich and aristocratic family and Stadtmüller thinks that his daughter who bore the frightful and ominous name Aniketeia married Agathias who also figures in the Anthology. If I were like Otto who in his edition of the Epistle to Diognetus (A. J. P. XXXI 366) treats us to a long list of Diogneti from whom his Diognetus is to be distinguished, I might caution the reader against confounding Paulus Silentiarius with Paul of Tarsus, no tinkling cymbal like his Byzantine namesake. But this Paulus is hardly ever cited without his addition. But what that addition means puzzles the best will of the archaeologist. The variety and futility of Byzantine functionaries have been touched on in my Essay on the Emperor Julian, in which, if I had been a really learned man, I might have paraded a formidable array of titles gathered from one Nicephorus, not to be confounded with half a dozen other Nicephori. The only thing real about most of these offices was the pay, if even that was real. The office of Silentiarius is sometimes identified with that of Gentleman of the Bedchamber, sometimes with that of Master of Ceremonies. The Master of Ceremonies was naturally the man who commanded silence on state occasions as did the herald of classical times with his *εὐφημεῖν χρή*. On this theory the silentary was a manner of head-usher, and this very word 'usher' (*ostiarius*) reminds me of a noted jurist, who misled by that cheating jade Popular Etymology (A. J. P. XXXVII 368) insisted, despite protest, on identifying 'usher' with a cockney 'husher', a fair translation of Silentiarius. Paul Husher has, indeed, the signal advantages of brevity and idiomatic force over Paulus Silentiarius, but the mouth-filling name has stood Paulus in good stead during the centuries.

The next chapter deals with the age of Justinian in its relation to literature. Instead of sowing the lower margin of the book with references our author contents himself with a general bibliography. The list comprises Bernhardt, Bergk ('*assai povera*'), Christ, Krumbacher, Gibbon, Victor Schulze, Raffaele Mariano, Diehl, Boissier, Nicola Turchi, and Bikélas. In the

presence of such a display of authorities it behooves me to walk softly in the tracks of Professor Veniero.¹

In assigning limits to the period he undertakes to discuss, Professor Veniero follows Krumbacher, and his outline extends from the overlordship of Constantine (324) to the death of Heraclius (641) <both A. D.>. The Greco-Byzantine Empire, he says, continues the Roman Empire, but is pervaded by a new element, Christianity, and combines the wisdom of the Roman constitution with the luxury of the Orient. Justinian is the natural successor of Augustus. Constantinople is Rome by the sea. There is a new development of art based on Greek literature from Homer to Kallimachos and as Roman literature though based on Greek literature is a literature by itself (comp. Leo, A. J. P. XXV 480) so it may well be maintained that Byzantine literature, though an imitation of the Greek, is a literature apart. Byzantine literature is characterized by the contrast between the old form and the new principle, between the vision of the greatness of Rome and the actual reign of Christ. The definitive triumph of Christianity over paganism is signified by the Church of St. Sophia in which the genius of Rome and the genius of Christianity are blended.

The Fathers of the Church did not hesitate to acknowledge their indebtedness to pagan literature. With St. Jerome they cut off the head of the heathen Goliath with his own sword. With St. Augustin they rejoiced in spoiling the pagans as the children of Israel spoiled the Egyptians. St. Basil wrote a famous treatise, perhaps oftener reprinted in modern times than almost any single patristic discourse, on the use that Christian youths are to make of Gentile literature. He was as much enamoured of Plato as was his contemporary Julian, and his obligations to Plato have been set forth in a Johns Hopkins dissertation by Dr. Shear. The old rhetoric held its own, as we all know from Walz, to whose collection I owe my acquaintance with a Christian writer who bore the remarkable surname of Rhakendytes. The figures of the Greek Pantheon kept up a literary life as they still do even among us. The Greek Kallone became a handmaiden to serve the Christ. The bust of the

¹ Professor Veniero does not cite—how could he?—Professor Vance's 'Byzantinische Culturgeschichte' based on the study of Chrysostom, an interesting document (A. J. P. XXXII 118).

Redeemer was draped with the philosopher's robe. The monster that threatened to devour Andromeda became the fish that swallowed Jonah. The chariot of Pluto that took Persephone to Hades was made over by the Christian wainwright into the chariot that conveys Elijah to heaven. The surnames of Aphrodite, that arch she-devil of Heine, were hypostasized into the she-saints of the Bollandists as Usener has shewn and the Passion of Our Saviour was set forth in a cento of Euripidean verses—a cento fathered on Gregory of Nazianzus—which adheres to the origin so closely that it has been used to correct the Euripidean text. Then it must be remembered that paganism, not literary paganism only, but the genuine article was not dead. The worship of Isis remained undisturbed in Egypt. Indeed I have known Isis to be used in America as a girl's name and of late years a like honour has been paid to Ishtar. The ancient rites were still observed. There were many half-baked Christians who sorely needed the fires of persecution to make them vessels of honour. The ancient faith had its martyrs. Statues of gods and goddesses abounded in Constantinople, and an image of Venus had the remarkable property of testing the chastity of those who appeared before it, and putting to shame the guilty by the exposure of that wherewith they had sinned. And as for literature, the language, the imagery continued to be the language and imagery of what we still call by eminence, classic times. No wonder that this state of things is reflected in the most characteristic form of pagan poetry, the epigram; so that we reach a natural point of transition to Professor Veniero's third and most important chapter.

This third chapter deals ostensibly with the Epigrams and the Epigrammatists of the Sixth Century, but Veniero takes in the whole period during which the old form was adapted to the new life. Christianity had its *ἀναθηματικά* as well as its *ἐπιτύμβια*, *ἐπιδεικτικά*, *πρωτρεπτικά*. The statue of St. Michael takes the place of the statue of Hercules; for, in the time of Paulus, we are far from the period of the iconoclasts, but the admission of statues into churches was still a moot point, and as a moot point it was handled in the epigram; and the destruction of the pagan temples was another theme.

Christian poetry transformed the sepulchral and the protreptic epigram, but who wants to read fifty-two epigrams on the

blessedness of giving up the ghost in church, and thus exchanging a temporary slumber for the eternal sleep? Who wants to read a long string of epigrams by Gregory the Theologian in which all manner of curses, Christian and pagan, are invoked upon the heads of grave-robbers? There are floating bits of scandal, such as we find in the epigram of Agathias (A. P. VII 572) on a secret adulterer upon whom a roof fell, burying him and his partner in guilt. Mocking epigrams there are, levelled at those in the highest places, laments over the victims of such monsters as Phocas. But the trouble is that so many of the epigrams have no root in actuality. 'Clouds without water', as St. Jude hath it, 'carried about of winds; trees whose fruit withereth, without fruit, twice dead, plucked up by the roots'. They are mere rhetorical exercises. Who were Apollo and Hermes and Pan to a Byzantine Christian that he should dedicate anything to them? No more than they are to you and to me, and yet in a recent number of the JOURNAL, I proposed with a Byzantine epigram before me to dedicate the instruments of my former trade to Hermes Logios (A. J. P. XXXVII 232). Such is the persistency of the classic machinery. In those Byzantine epigrams we haven't to do with real feeling—except perhaps when the epigrammatist is worried with the refractoriness of proper names—as is shewn in the varying quantity of *Βασίλειος* which appears now as υ υ — ο, now as — υ υ ο.¹ To be sure, Veniero calls upon us to admire 'the mastery of the form, the ingenuity of the figures', an ingenuity which hovers between 'supersubtlety' and 'supersilliness', between Mommsen's 'verwünscht gescheidt' and his 'herzlich albern', A. J. P. XXXV 492 fn. He calls upon us to admire the novelty of the words and stirs questions as to the manufacture of compounds at this late day (A. J. P. XXXVII 237). He calls upon us to applaud the accuracy with which Paulus describes objects of everyday life, an art in which he cannot attain to Leonidas of Tarentum, and the wonderful variety of the three epigrams in which the same epigrammatist dedicates the implements of the scrivener's trade to paper deities. And yet we are told in the same breath that 'the creative vein dries up more and more, that there is at best nothing but a rhetorical amplification of old themes, elegant imitations of earlier poets, cumbrous mythologi-

¹ See A. P. VIII (Gregory the Theologian), 2, 2; 3, 1; 4, 3; 5, 2 al.

cal erudition'—not true of Paulus, Signor Veniero—'and meticulous preciosities'.

One begins to wonder after this indictment why Veniero should have persevered in his studies. But we cease to wonder when we come to the erotic elegy. We raise again the Sophoclean chant *Ερως ἀνίκατε μάχαν* without any Euripidean reserves. What Freud says of dreams (A. J. P. XXXII 478) is true of this dream of a shadow we call life. In the erotic epigrams of the period, we feel every now and then something more genuine than a literary aphrodisiac; and to adapt a figure of Veniero's the Byzantine poet attires himself in the cast-off clothes of his predecessors in order to express a true feeling, serenading, as it were, after a masked ball in hired frippery a sweetheart of flesh and blood.

There is one side of love, however, and that the most characteristic of the antique, the great theme of Plato's Symposium, the *Μούσα παιδική*, that is shunned by the Byzantine Paulus as it is denounced by the Apostle Paul. In the Byzantine *έρωτικά* this form of love is mentioned only to be scouted, as it is by Agathias in his Praise of Marriage, V 302, 7:

μοίχια λέκτρα κάκιστα, καὶ ἔκτοθέν εἰσιν ἐρώτων,
ὧν μέτα παιδομανῆς κείσθω ἀλιτροσύνη.

Agathias is a sympathetic soul and his supposed connection with Paulus adds a curious interest to his epigrams. There are 252 epigrams in the twelfth section of the Anthologia Palatina as against 309 *έρωτικά*. It holds some of the best work, artistically speaking, of some of the best anthologists, and Mr. Mackail has not hesitated to draw upon its stores.¹ Straton, who takes his stand on the intellectual eminence of this form of love XII 245:

οἱ λογικοὶ δὲ
τῶν ἄλλων ζήων τοῦτ' ἔχομεν τὸ πλεόν.

turns his back upon the ladies of Helikon because they are mere women, and proceeds to draw up a bill of fare for travellers in this region of the Pays du Tendre; and in a number of the epigrams there are details untranslatable. But leaving out Straton,

¹ However, whereas one-fourth of the *έρωτικά* has passed into his Select Epigrams, only some 13 per cent of the epigrams of A. P. XII have found favor with him.

he who seeks 'raciness' in this corner of the garden will be only less disappointed than those who should be tempted by the title to read the *ἐταιρικοὶ διάλογοι* of Lucian (*Essays and Studies*, p. 344). They would fare as did the yokel who was taken in by the superscription of Young's *Night Thoughts* (A. J. P. XX 350). *ἡγρεύθην*, says the unknown author of XII 99:

*ἡγρεύθην. ἀλλ' οὐ με κακῶν πόθος, ἀλλ' ἀκέραιον
σύντροφον αἰσχύνῃ βλέμμα κατηνθράκισεν.*

It is a delicate subject and though this is a technical journal and not intended for the run of readers, I have been warned against further exposure of Browning's indecencies, and dare not ask whether St. Paul's limitation to what he bluntly calls *ἡ φυσικὴ χρῆσις τῆς θηλείας* has in view the abuse of *τὰ τρία τρυπήματα* (V 49; VI 17). That is a question that belongs to the underground laboratory of Gibbon's notes. Doubtless there was as much licence in Byzantium and as much hypocrisy as in our day. There are deep trenches in modern life—fitly called 'boyaux' in France,—that are now and then exposed to the light of day by the artillery of the press as happened some years ago in Berlin. The ghost of Oscar Wilde still walks the earth, not unaccompanied by shades that have figured in modern annals of literary bardashery, but let us hope that boys will continue to read about 'Pastor Corydon' and 'formosus Alexis' without taking harm just as the pure-minded Emerson and his innocent editor read to their edification the 'odes' of Martial in praise of self-help,¹ little suspecting what was meant by Martial's handy substitute for Ganymede (A. J. P. XXXIV 241).

To come back to Veniero, the condition of women was not improved by the transfer of the seat of the Empire to Byzantium. Read Agathias, V 297.² Women were not allowed to appear in public unveiled, though if the veils were such a flimsy, not to say barefaced, pretext as those that I beheld on a bankside

¹ II 43, 4: At mihi succurrit pro Ganymede manus (comp. VI 301, 22). Of course, there is the Schol. on Ap. Rhod. 3, 115, but Emerson did not familiarize himself with scholia as Browning did.

² V 297, 8 and 9:

*ἡμᾶς δ' οὐδὲ φάος λεύσσειν θέμις, ἀλλὰ μελάνθοις
κριπτόμεθα ζοφεραῖς φροντίσι τηρόμεναι.*

at Scutari in 1896, not much was lost to the gaze of the curious. In church women were divided from men as they are still in many denominations even in America. The eunuch was the *duenna* then as he is now. But there was no lack of ear-tickling gossip, of intrigues, of amorous adventures, and Veniero specifies the love affairs of Theodosius with the wife of Belisarius, of the daughter of Belisarius with Anastasius.

Still, the little god of the Alexandrians had had his wings clipped. The commerce of the sexes was considered a fatal consequence of the fall, at best a necessary evil. Every reader of Sir Thomas Browne will remember how fully in sympathy he was with that view, how he refers with evident approval to the Rabbinical interpretation of the tree in the midst of the garden, how he uttered a 'melancholy *Utinam*' for a different method of maintaining the continuity of the race. To redeem matrimony, it was made a sacrament, and, as turn about is fair play, religious fervour adopted and still keeps up the language of human passion. In fact Sacred Love and Profane Love not only appear side by side as in Titian's picture, they anastomose as is set forth in Zola's *La Faute de l'abbé Mouret*, as is shown by the history of pilgrimages ancient and modern. But to Gregory of Nazianzus, profane love was a disease, a *γλυκεία νόσος*, as it was a *γλυκύπικρον ἀμάχανον ὄρπετον* to Sappho. *γλυκύπικρον*, by the way, has been credited by more than one scholar to Poseidippus. It is used by Meleager also. I doubt whether it was original even with Sappho, who knew all about it. The praise of virginity early intoned is still chanted, and it is not necessary to cite the hymns of the early church, and the consentient voices of the Fathers. Of course the famous text 'It is better to marry than to burn' was invoked from time to time, and there is the supreme consolation that if all were virgins there would be no virgins. What under these circumstances is to become of the erotic epigram, with its fierce sensuality, its coy dalliance? Well, life went on as before. Paganism was not rooted out, nor was human nature turned out of doors. Vice flourished with all its refinements in the Rome of the East, as it does in our Metropolis of the West, who prides herself on giving points to Paris. Pagan rites, pagan practices were winked at. The epithets of Venus may be hypostatized as we have seen and

turned into saints, but the cestus of the goddess peeps out from under the cassock of monk and philosopher alike. But we are warned not to think that the erotic poetry of Byzantium is a mere reconstruction, a mere return to the life of an overpast age. Under the vesture of a bygone time throbs the beat of a human heart. Gone is the mild enjoyment of the Alexandrians, the tempered breathing of the Epicurean *ἡδονή*. The forbidden fruit, says Veniero, a tropical writer, bears the print of the schoolboy's teeth, though our friend Paulus as we shall see prefers the tenderness of Demo's kiss to the incisiveness of Doris. Sharp is the bite of sexual passion. 'Lust hard by hate' as the Puritan poet tells us. 'Je t'aime, ah! je t'aime', as a poet of to-day has it, 'Je voudrais te faire du mal'. For fear of being too cold the Byzantine rakes up the fire of Tophet, and then again for fear of being too hot he makes a jest of his own pornographic details. So Rufinus, who is a ruffian, puts himself in the place of Paris and makes an ordnance map of the beauties of three hetaerae (A. P. V 35. 36) reminding one of Nevizan's thirty points of female physical perfection (A. J. P. XXXIV 489) reminding one of Alkiphron (I 39), and of that other heathen, Anatole France, in his Jérôme Coignard, p. 52. A parallel to Rufinus is found, as Veniero reminds us, in Nonnus, Dionys. XV 204, XLII 355. When, however, the poet allows himself to be guided by his own heart and his own taste, he succeeds in producing something graceful and artistic *θαυμαστόν τι καὶ πλήρες χάριτος*, some madrigal addressed to some lady of Theodora's court, such as the famous V 270 to which we may

Οὐτε ῥόδον στεφάνων ἐπιδέυεται, οὔτε σὺ πέπλων,
οὔτε λιθοβλήτων, πότνια, κεκρυφάλων.

μάργαρα σῆς χροιῆς ἀπολείπεται, οὐδὲ κομίζει
χρυσὸς ἀπεκτῆτου σῆς τριχὸς ἀγλαΐην·

Ἰνδὴ δ' ὑάκινθος ἔχει χάριν αἴθωπος αἴγλης,
ἀλλὰ τεῶν λογάδων¹ πολλὸν ἀφανροτέρην·

χείλεα δὲ δροσέοντα, καὶ ἡ μελίφνυτος ἐκείνη
ἤθεος ἀρμονίη, κεστὸς ἔφν Παφίης.

τούτοις πᾶσιν ἐγὼ καταδάμναμαι· ὄμμασι μούνοις
θέλγομαι, οἷς ἐλπίς μελιχὸς ἐνδιαίει.

¹ λογάδων = eyes, but how or why? Salmasius' λοχάδων gives the image of eyes peering from an ambush, as a stone from its setting.

add further V 301, 241 and 254.¹ Such original creations, however, are rare. The inventive faculty has too little spring. It needs pressure from without. Now it is a proverb that is to be contradicted—proverbs are notoriously reversible cuffs. Now an Homeric reminiscence furnishes the suggestion, now a passage from an elegiac poet. The Byzantine poet draws from all he has read whether prose or poetry, not unlike Vergil in this, and succeeds here in reproducing the exquisite form, there in catching the sonorous phrase. An amusing contrast, says Veniero, is offered when the poet devoured by love betrays the homely reality as when Paulus, forgetful of the Ovidian 'Turpe senilis amor', reveals the fact that his head is grizzled. The epigram V 264² is one of the most noted of Paulus's fabrication, but I cannot agree with Veniero here. The same Ovid

¹ V 301:

εἰ καὶ τηλοτέρῳ Μερόης τεδὸν ἵχνος ἐρείσεις,
 πτηνὸς Ἔρωσ πτηνῷ κείσε μένει με φέρει·
 εἰ καὶ ἐς ἀντολίην πρὸς ὁμόχροον ἵξαι Ἡώ,
 πεζὸς ἀμετρήτοις ἔψομαι ἐν σταδίοις.
 εἰ δέ τί σοι στέλλω βύθιον γέρας, Ἰλαθι, κούρη,
 εἰς σὲ θαλασσαίῃ τοῦτο φέρει Παφίη,
 κάλλει νικηθεῖσα τεοῦ χροδὸς ἡμερόεντος
 τὸ πρὶν ἐπ' ἀγλαίῃ θάρσος ἀπωσαμένη.

V 241:

᾿Σφξέό' σοι μέλλων ἐνέπειν, παλίνορσον ἰωὴν
 ἄψ ἀνασειράζω, καὶ πάλιν ἄγχι μένω·
 σὴν γὰρ ἐγὼ δασπλήτα διάστασιν οἶά τε πικρὴν
 νύκτα καταπτήσω τὴν Ἀχεροντιάδα·
 ἤματι γὰρ σέο φέγγος ὁμοῖον· ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν πον
 ἄφθογγον· σὺ δέ μοι καὶ τὸ λάλημα φέρεις,
 κείνο τὸ Σειρήνων γλυκερώτερον, ὃ ἐπὶ πᾶσαι
 εἰσὶν ἐμῆς ψυχῆς ἐλπίδες ἐκκρεμέες.³

V 254:

᾿Ωμοσα μιμνάζειν σέο τηλόθεν, ἀργέτι κούρη,
 ἄχρι δυωδεκάτης, ὧ πόποι, ἡριπόλης·
 οὐ δ' ἔτλην ὁ τάλας· τὸ γὰρ αὐριον ἄμμι φαάνθη
 τηλοτέρῳ μήνης, ναὶ μὰ σέ, δυωδεκάτης.
 ἀλλὰ θεοὺς ἰκέτευε, φίλη, μὴ ταῦτα χαράξαι
 ὄρκια ποιναίης νῶτον ὑπερ σελίδος·
 θέλγε δέ σαῖς χαρίτεσσιν ἐμὴν φρένα· μὴ δέ με μᾶστιξ,
 πότνα, κατασμύξῃ καὶ σέο καὶ μακάρων.

² See p. 65.³ Son-in-law Agathias (p. 44) is also credited with this specimen.

says: 'Quae venit exacto tempore peius amat' and what is true of the 'quae' is true of the 'qui'. As a specimen of the way in which Paulus imitates his models, Veniero¹ takes V 279, another admired piece, a resetting, or, if you choose, an amplification of 'the sober and elegant' Asklepiades V 150.² The Alexandrian poet has waited all night sustained by a solemn promise, a promise fortified by an oath that has been given him by a famous beauty, a touch that heightens his jealousy. He is no Juvenalian lover, 'impatiens morae'. He reminds one rather of Horace in like case. He waits. The night watch passes by. Midnight has gone. The girl has simply fooled him. The poet is an Epicurean of the 'nil admirari' order—*Bien fol est qui s'y fie*—and bids his servants put out the light.³ The Byzantine poet, on the other hand, plunges 'in medias res'.³ We know nothing of the promise made by the famous beauty, whose popularity recalls Maupassant's 'Boule de Suif' and may well have given grounds for jealousy. The third watch, or rather the third wick, was consumed in waiting, waiting, all in vain. Instead of putting out the light and going to bed in philosophical loneliness, he utters a prayer that his love may be extinguished like the light of the lamp and with his love his sleepless desires. Then, and not till then, does he recall the oaths of Kleopantis and begin to moralize on her double faithlessness to men and to gods. Evidently Veniero does not believe in the sleepless desires of any man capable of such a conceit as that of the lamp in such circumstances, and I must grant that Paulus lays himself open to the suspicion of being what Straton, the unquotable, irredeemable blackguard and monstrous

¹ I am translating V.'s inexact account of the situation and not the Greek.

² Ὁμολόγησ' ἔχειν εἰς νύκτα μοι ἡ' πιβήτος
 Νικῶ καὶ σεμνὴν ὤμοσε θεσμοφόρον·
 κοῦχ ἔχει, φυλακὴ δὲ παροίχεται. ἄρ' ἐπιτορκεῖν
 ἤθελε; τὸν λύχνον, παῖδες, ἀποσβέσατε.

³ Δηθύνει Κλεόφαντις· ὁ δὲ τρίτος ἄρχεται ἤδη
 λύχνος ὑποκλάζειν ἦκα μαραινόμενος.
 αἶθε δὲ καὶ κραδίης πυρός συνάπτεσθαι λύχνῳ,
 μηδὲ μ' ὑπ' ἀγρύπνοις δηρὸν ἔκαιε πόθοις.
 ἃ πόσα τὴν Κυθήριαν ἐπώμοσεν ἔσπερος ἔχειν,
 ἀλλ' οὐτ' ἀνθρώπων φείδεται, οὔτε θεῶν.

punster, would call an Astyanax—before the fact (XII II, 4). In strained situations everyone is alive to impressions from without. Homer, as I have urged elsewhere (Creed of the Old South, pp. 9, 103), is psychologically correct and is not epically parenthetic when he mentions the washing-troughs in his description of Hektor's flight before the face of Achilles; but he does not moralize the troughs. Still, as the lamp, the lantern, is so regularly associated with love-scenes in the Anthology (e. g. V. 4, 5, 7, 165, 197, 263)—there is so much sympathy between light of wick and light of wickedness—I hesitate to join in Veniero's censure. What a difference, exclaims Veniero. The Alexandrian poet gives us a complete picture—the Byzantine a scrappy sketch. And yet, as I have said, this Kleopantis epigram is a prime favourite.

Still, continues Veniero, in spite of the lack of genuine inspiration Paulus knows how to adapt and develop, and one of these adaptations and developments is found in the epigram to which we owe the famous line 'Beauty draws us by a single hair'.¹ While then as compared with the poets of the third century B. C. Paulus falls below his models in feeling, in grace of form and happiness of phrase, he is far above his contemporaries. And if in V 270 already quoted (p. 51) and in V 260² the coloring is too high, the art, says Veniero, is exquisite and in VI 71³ under the guise of a dedicatory epigram, we have a vivid description of a revelry, that had taken place in a banquet-hall deserted. A favourite theme with the Alexandrian poets is what may be called the Ninon de l'Enclos or 'Femme de trente ans' movement—the charm that persists after the fatal acmé which Balzac fixed at thirty, and which has of late years been

¹V 230:

Χρυσῆς εἰρύσασσα μίαν τρίχα Δωρὶς ἐθείρης,
οἷα δορικτήτους δῆσεν ἐμεῦ παλάμας·
αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ τὸ πρὶν μὲν ἐκάγχασα, δεσμὰ τινάξαι
Δωρίδος ἱμερτῆς εὐμαρὲς οἴομενος·
ὥς δὲ διαρρήξαι σθένος οὐκ ἔχον, ἔστενον ἤδη,
οἷά τε χαλκείῃ σφιγκτὸς ἀλυκτοπέδη.
καὶ νῦν ὁ τρισάποτμος ἀπὸ τριχὸς ἡέρττημαι,
δεσπότης ἐνθ' ἐρύση, πυκνὰ μεθελκόμενος.

² See p. 62.

³ See p. 58.

moved from Balzac's to Karin Michaelis' 'Dangerous Age'¹ which she considers forty. Asklepiades treats the theme with severe simplicity in VII 217, Philodemus develops it, anatomizes the object of his passion in detail and commends to those who seek for what Philodemus calls *οργώντας πόθους* and Veniero translates spicily 'pepati desiderii' the accomplished artist with her highly favoured personality (A. J. P. XXXIV 231). We are in the region of Philainis (A. J. P. II 126 fn.). We are in the dangerous neighborhood of the Golden Ass. One recalls Benjamin Franklin's cynical advice to his son—half-suppressed by Bigelow and Kirby Smith's recent contribution to the exegesis of Tibullus (A. J. P. XXXVII 145). Veniero's epigram is more in the line of Burns' 'John Anderson, my Jo, John' with the sexes reversed. The bonnie brow is no longer brent; but the autumn and even winter of Philinna were better than the spring of others. We are next invited to compare Rufinus on the same subject, V 62, who goes into the same anatomical detail as does Philodemus, pays tribute to Matthew Arnold's Great Goddess Lubricity and winds up with a slavish imitation of Asklepiades. Finally we have Agathias V 289 with his detailed and tedious narrative, but I must leave the verification of these judgments of Veniero's to the reader, and content myself with giving the text of 258.

Πρόκριτός ἐστι, Φίλινα, τῇ ῥυτίς ἢ ὁπὸς ἤβης
πάσης· λυίρω δ' ἀμφὶς ἔχειν παλάμαις
μᾶλλον ἐγὼ σέο μῆλα κερηβαρέοντα κορύμβοις,
ἢ μαζὸν νεαρῆς ὄρθιον¹ ἡλικίης.
σὸν γὰρ ἔτι φθινόπωρον ὑπέρτερον εἶαρος ἄλλης,
χεῖμα σὸν ἀλλοτρίου θερμότερον θέρεος.

Beyond the scope of this summary lies the question broached by Veniero whether we are to rest content with assuming a Roman original for any epigrams that follow closely the lines of Tibullus, Propertius and Ovid, as he believes, or whether

¹ A. J. P. XXXII 481.

¹ ὄρθιον reminds of a passage in Clemens Alexandrinus in which that ragpicker of heathen wickednesses moralizes a nipple. The nipple of the maid, he says, looks up to the lover, the nipple of the mother looks down to the babe. All one beautiful summer semester I was doomed to hear Clemens Alexandrinus drawled out hundreds of times in Heinrich Ritter's lectures on Greek Philosophy and my work on Justin forced me to consult Clement. This is about all the real good I have got out of Clement. Veniero, who is on the look-out for Roman originals, has overlooked Prop. 2, 12, 21.

we are in all cases to assume an Alexandrian source for both. Whether in a given case we have Propertius or Philitas, must remain as undecided as the orthography of Philitas himself (A. J. P. XXXVII 200, fn. 5).

PART II.

The reader has doubtless noticed that I have tugged impatiently at the leading-strings of the Italian scholar to whose book I owe this holiday pastime. The path is well beaten, the sights are not novel, and now that I have made my acknowledgments to my Catanian colleague I am going to follow my own sweet will in dealing with Paulus.¹ I am going to indicate, or at any rate intimate, what would be my selection of Pauline epigrams, if I were called upon to act as a 'ductor titubantium' in this field of intoxicating perfume—the Greek Anthology. Of course, my selection will have regard to the judgment of others for there is really no more important study than the shiftings of taste from one generation to another, these shiftings that make new translations inevitable, as in the case of Sappho. Take Pope's translation of the close of the eighth book of the Iliad acclaimed as a masterpiece in its day and long after. Read Matthew Arnold's verdict. Read Tennyson's rendering, both final, as we say. Now Paulus is not worth all the trouble that such a study would require even if I had more material at hand. Of the *ἐπιτύμβια* an especial favourite is VII 307. It has been honoured by William Cowper's version and there is yet another rhymed rendering by J. A. Pott in Mr. Grundy's *Ancient Gems*. It is sadly commonplace.²

¹ In my comments on these selections I am not going to poach upon Professor Veniero's preserves. He has given parallels from other elegiac poets and discusses questions of origin and indebtedness. These marginalia are just a few of the thoughts that have come to me in the long summer months. They have the sole merit of spontaneity, a merit which would be lost by meticulous revision and correction. They are a manner of overgrown *Brief Mention*.

² Οὐνομά μοι . . . τί δὲ τοῦτο; πατρὶς δέ μοι . . . ἐς τί δὲ τοῦτο;
κλεινοῦ δ' εἰμὶ γένους . . . εἰ γὰρ ἀφανροτάτου;
ζήσας δ' ἐνδόξως ἔλιπον βίον . . . εἰ γὰρ ἀδόξως;
κεῖμαι δ' ἐνθάδε νῦν . . . τίς τίνοι ταῦτα λέγεις;

Of the ἐπιδεικτικά the one that appeals to me most is IX 764 on the mosquito-net by reason of lifelong association with gallinipper and anopheles.¹ There is a bit of actuality about that as there is about the description of Constantinopolitan palaces, which takes me back to Seraglio Point and 1896.²

Of the προτρεπτικά X 74 has found favour in Mr. Grundy's eyes. It is a poem on Virtue. Somehow poems on Virtue from Aristotle down have never given me much pleasure. I rebelled against personifying ἀρετά in Pindar (O 1, 89) and now that in these latter days ἀρετή is identified with efficiency (A. J. P. XXXV 368) and 'Kultur', I prefer X 76.³ To be sure, it is the only epigram of Paulus' that sports the articular infinitive (A. J. P. XXXIII 107) but τὸ ζῆν is a plebeian early adopted into a patrician family and τὸ ῥῖψαι has a commendable swing:

Paulus' dedicatory epigrams have found more favour with the older students of the Anthology than with Mackail and Grundy. I have already adverted to the unreality of the gods to whom some of them are dedicated. One of the ἀναθηματικά has been picked out by Mackail—Androklos' dedication of his bow to Apollo, the god of the bow. No connexion with

¹ Οὐ βριαρόν τινα θῆρα καὶ οὐ τινα πόντιον ἰχθύν,
οὐ πτερόν ἀγρεύω πλέγμασιν ἡμετέροις
ἀλλὰ βροτοὺς ἐθέλοντας. ἀλεξήτειρα δὲ τέχνη
ἀνέρα μνιάων κέντρον ἀλευόμενον
ἐκ θαλῆς ἀβρῶτα μεσημβριάοντα φυλάσσει
οὐδὲν ἀφαιροτέρῃ τείχεος ἀστυόχου.
ἔπνου δ' ἀστυφέλικτον ἄγω χάριν· ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὺς
δμῶας μνισόβου ῥύομαι ἀτμενίης.

² IX 663:

Πόντος ὑποκλύζει χθονὸς ἔδρανα, πλωτὰ δὲ χέρσου
νῶτα θαλασσαιὸς ἄλσεσι τηλεθάει,
ὥς σοφός, ὅστις ἔμειξε βυθὸν χθονί, φύκια κήποις.
Νηϊάδων προχοαῖς χεύματα Νηρείδων.

³ οὐ τὸ ζῆν χαρίεσσαν ἔχει φύσιν ἀλλὰ τὸ ῥῖψαι
φροντίδας ἐκ στέρνων τὰς πολιοκροτάφους.
πλοῦτον ἔχειν ἐθέλω τὸν ἐπάρκιον. ἡ δὲ περισσὴ
θυμὸν αἰεὶ κατέδει χρυσομανῆς μελέτη.
ἐνθεν ἐν ἀνθρώποισιν ἀρείονα πολλὰκι δῆεις
καὶ πενήν πλούτου, καὶ βίотου θάνατον.
ταῦτα σὺ γινώσκων κραδίης ἴθυνε κελεύθους
εἰς μίαν εἰσορόων ἐλπίδα τὴν σοφίην.

Androklos, the founder of Ephesus, says Veniero. Why not? Despite Wernicke and Harris (A. J. P. XXXVII 220) Apollo was the brother of Artemis, and as Androklos is only another form of Androkles, I am glad that Paulus did not have the bad taste to assign to Androklos VI 57, the dedication of a lion's skin. One group of these dedicatory epigrams has been mentioned already, in which we find a similar array of so-called dedicatory poems. My own favourite of the set and not mine only is VI 71, which seems to have escaped from the Armida garden of the *έρωτικά*. The framework of the poem, which craves translation, tempts to the sonnet, but a sonnet would require outrageous padding, such as I have perpetrated, A. J. P. XXXIII,¹ though nothing could well be worse in that way than the perilous stuffing one finds in Merivale's rhymed version (Bohn p. 409). Blank verse does less violence to the original, and the scarcity of compounds in the rendering shews the idiomatic difference of the two languages (A. J. P. XXXVII 236).

Σοὶ τὰ λιποστεφάνων διατίλματα μυρία φύλλων,
 σοὶ τὰ νοσπλήκτου κλαστὰ κύπελλα μέθης,
 βόστρυχα σοὶ τὰ μύροις δεδευμένα, τῇδε κονίη
 σκῦλα ποθοβλήτου κεῖται Ἀναξαγόρα,
 σοὶ τάδε, Λαῖς, ἅπαντα· παρὰ προθύροις γὰρ ὁ δειλὸς
 τοῖσδε σὺν ἀκρήβαις πολλάκι παννυχίσας,
 οὐκ ἔπος, οὐ χάριεσσιν ὑπόσχεσιν, οὐδὲ μελιχρῆς
 ἐλπίδος ὑβριστὴν μῦθον ἐπεσπάσατο·
 φεῦ φεῦ, γνιστακῆς δὲ λιπὼν τάδε σύμβολα κώμων,
 μέμφεται ἀστρέπτου κάλλει θηλυτέρης.

To thee the myriad leaves of shatter'd chaplets,
 To thee the broken cups of revel-routs,
 Curls wet with perfumes lying in the dust,
 Spoils won from love-smit Anaxagoras,
 Lais, all these to thee. How oft, poor wretch,
 He with his mates lay all night by thy door;
 No word, no gracious promise, no sweet hope
 Of frolic madness ever wrung from thee.
 Alas! forspent these tokens he must leave,
 And leaving, chide his 'Belle dame sans merci'.²

¹ See p. III.

² The only copy of the A. P. available for this holiday study was the pocket edition of Holtze (Carl Tauchnitz) 1865. If I have shewn any fitfulness or fretfulness in this little essay, it must be attributed to the damnable paper, which flaked off at the touch. Never have I had so

Of the 81 epigrams ascribed to Paulus, 40 are classed as *ἐρωτικά* and the various selections reflect the general opinion as to his excellence in that line. Of the ten in Mackail's Select Epigrams, six deal with Love. Of the eight in Mr. Grundy's Ancient Gems in Modern Settings, six have to do with the same distracting passion. That the same overwhelming proportion does not obtain in the Bohn-Burges volume can readily be understood if one considers that it is made up chiefly of older selections intended for schools. The best of Paulus' performances under this rubric are not for edification. In none of the selections do we find the Nessus shirt epigram (V 255),¹ as I am fain to call it, nor the invitation to untram-

exasperating an experience in dealing with a book, and I was not consoled by repeated opportunities of conjectural restoration. It was scant comfort that the edition symbolized the end of all things and gave point to the shattered wreaths of Lais' banquet.

¹ Εἶδον ἐγὼ ποθέοντας· ὕπ' ἀτλήτοιο δὲ λύσσης
 δηρὸν ἐν ἀλλήλοισι χεῖλεα πηξάμενοι,
 οὐ κόρον εἶχον ἔρωτος ἀφειδέος· ἴεμενοι δέ,
 εἰ θέμις, ἀλλήλων δύμεναι ἐς κραδίην,
 ἀμφασίης ὅσον ὅσσον ὑπεπρήνουν ἀνάγκην.
 ἀλλήλων μαλακοῖς φάρεσιν ἐσσάμενοι,
 καὶ ῥ' ὁ μὲν ἦν Ἀχιλῆϊ παρείκελος, οἶος ἐκείνος
 τῶν Λυκομηδεῶν ἔνδον ἔην θαλάμων·²
 κούρη δ' ἀργυφῆς ἐπιγουνίδος ἄχρι χιτῶνα
 ζωσαμένη, Φοίβης εἶδος ἀπεπλάσατο.
 καὶ πάλιν ἡρήρεστο τὰ χεῖλεα· γυνιοβόρον γὰρ
 εἶχον ἀλωφήτου λιμὸν ἐρωμανίης.
 ῥεῖά τις ἡμερίδος στελέχη δύο σύμπλοκα λύσει,
 στρεπτά, πολυχρονίῳ πλέγματι συμφυέα,
 ἣ κείνους φιλέοντας, ὕπ' ἀντιπόροισι τ' ἀγοστοῖς
 ὕγρὰ περιπλέγδην ἄψα δησαμένους.
 τρὶς μάκαρ, δς τοίοισι, φίλῃ, δεσμοῖσιν ἐλίχθη,
 τρὶς μάκαρ· ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς ἀνδιχα καιόμεθα.

² This is the only poem of Paulus's that has a real glow, but the glow comes from vision not from action. Everyone will be reminded of the famous passage of Lucretius IV 1090-1101 which Veniero considers to be the original. Among my other debts to Paulus is the re-reading of Montaigne's delightful 'Sur quelques vers de Virgile', next to the longest of the Essais. Lucretius' 'penetrare et abire in corpus corpore toto' never fails to bring up to mind Canto XXV of the Inferno, which might well serve as an emblem of certain phases of marriage, mad lust and frantic divorce. The lesson was not intended by Dante, but is none the less impressive.

melled sport (V 252).¹ 'Le bon motif' does not appear in any of the Pauline poems, and the only poem that can be tortured into the acceptance of that canalization of love, called marriage, is V 221, which Mr. Rouse has translated and which is headed with due regard to Mrs. Grundy 'United'. V 221 is preceded by V 219 which has for its theme 'Stolen waters are sweet and bread eaten in secret is pleasant';² but in V 221 the poet gets tired of the 'Heimliche Liebe von der Niemand nichts weiss' and is supposed to be ready for the supreme sacrifice of matrimony with a view to the 'luxuriant indulgence' which Burns commends unreservedly and which Bernard Shaw condemns unsparingly.³

To begin with the beginning of Love's Litany, Paulus (V 217) leads off with Danae and the well-worn figure of her accessibility to gold—'Inclusam Danaen'—and the rest of it, Hor. C. 3, 16:

Χρύσεος ἀψάυστοιο διέτμαγεν ἄμμα κορείας
 Ζεὺς, διαδὺς Δανάας χαλκελάτους θαλάμους.
 φάμι λέγειν τὸν μῦθον ἐγὼ τάδε· 'Σάλκεα νικᾷ
 τείχεα καὶ δεσμοὺς χρυσὸς ὁ πανδαμάτωρ.'
 χρυσὸς ὄλους ῥυτῆρας, ὄλας κληῖδας ἐλέγχει,
 χρυσὸς ἐπιγνάμπει τὰς σοβαροβλεφάρους·
 καὶ Δανάας ἐλύγωσεν ὄδε φρένα. μὴ τις ἐραστὴς
 λισσέσθω Παφίαν, ἀργύριον παρέχων.

χαλκελάτους θαλάμους is a variant of the Sophoklean χαλκοδέτοις αὐλαῖς. Shorey says that the cynical interpretation of this myth seems to have been a commonplace and cites this passage among others. The anthologists never tire of it. It is needless to increase the number of references. I fancy that

¹ See p. 68.

² Κλέψωμεν, 'Ροδόπη, τὰ φιλήματα, τήν τ' ἐρατεινήν
 καὶ περιδῆριτον Κύπριδος ἐργασίην.
 ἡδὺ λαθεῖν, φυλάκων τε παναγρέα κανθὸν ἀλύξαι·
 φώρια δ' ἀμφαδίῳν λέκτρα μελιχρότερα.

³ Μέχρι τίνος φλογέσσαν ὑποκλέποντες ὀπωπὴν
 φώριον ἀλλήλων βλέμμα τιτυσκόμεθα;
 λεκτέον ἀμφαδίην μελεδήματα· κῆν τις ἐρύξῃ
 μαλθακὰ λυσιπύονον πλέγματα συζυγίης,
 φάρμακον ἀμφοτέροις ξίφος ἔσσειται· ἥδιον ἡμῖν
 ξυγνὸν αἰεὶ μεθέπειν ἢ βίον ἢ θάνατον.

Antigone stopped her ears when the chorus intoned: *ἔτλα καὶ Δανάας οὐράνιον φῶς κτέ.* The story was stale, the jest was doubtless stale even in Antigone's day, and there was no gleam of hope in it for her. She knew full well that Haimon was kept on short allowance by his father, Kreon, and did not possess the golden key necessary to her deliverance. Still the poets never tired of Danae. One of Euripides' plays dealt with Danae, or as Browning would say Euripides taught (*ἐδίδαξεν*) a Danae, and I have made the suggestion (A. J. P. I 457) that the caterwauling verse addressed by the chorus of the Wasps v. 273 to the shut-in Philokleon was a parody of Euripides. χρυσάνιος 'Αφροδίτα tells (So. O. C. 619) the story in brief and so does 'ceinture dorée' which reminds me of Asklepiades V 158:

'Ερμιόνη πιθανῇ ποτ' ἐγὼ συνέπαιζον, ἐχούση
ζωνίον ἐξ ἀνθέων ποικίλον, ὦ Παφίη,
χρύσεα γράμματ' ἔχον· διόλου δ' ἐγέγραπτο Φίλει με
καὶ μὴ λυπηθῆς, ἥν τις ἔχη μ' ἔτερος.

A philosophical soul was Asklepiades, as we have seen.

After the first poem 'les beaux yeux de ma cassette' disappear to be succeeded by the eyes of the lover and the beloved.

V 226:

'Οφθαλμοί, τέο μέχρις ἀφύσσετε νέκταρ 'Ερώτων,
κάλλεος ἀκρήτου ζωροπῶνται θρασέες;
τῆλε διαθρέξωμεν ὅπη σθένος· ἐν δὲ γαλήνῃ
νηφάλια σπείσω Κύπριδι Μειλιχίῃ.
εἰ δ' ἄρα πον καὶ κεῖθι κατὰσχετος ἔσσομαι οἷστρω,
γίνεσθε κρυεροῖς δάκρυσι μυδαλέοι,
ἐνδίκον ὀτλήσοντες αἰὲ πόνον· ἐξ ὑμέων γάρ,
φεῦ, πυρὸς ἐς τόσσην ἤλθομεν ἐργασίην.

There is not so much ado about eyes as in Petrarch, but there is quite enough. In the much admired V 270, we find pearly complexion, golden hair, brilliancy that outvies the jacinth, dewy lips, sweet fellow-feeling

ἡ θεὸς¹ ἀρμονίῃ
ἡ μελίφυρτος ἐκείνη

of which the cestus of Aphrodite is made, but the charm is in the eyes.

δμμασι μούνοις
θέλγομαι οἷς ἐλπίς μείλιχος ἐνδιάει.

¹ See p. 51, but in view of Paulus' appetencies (p. 66) Hecker's *στήθεος* is tempting.

It is the expression of the eye that counts, its fire, its tenderness, its tears. Colour does not matter as it does in modern poetry, and no synonymical difference is made between ὄμμα and ὄφθαλμός (A. J. P. XIX 475). But the sturdiest synonyms are led astray by those mischievous sprites, the dactyls—tricky like their ancestral gnomes, the Idaean Dactyls,—or else crushed by the ponderous spondees, burnt out by the spitfire iambs and upset by the tripping trochees. Such well-established synonyms as θάλασσα, πόντος, πέλαγος, ἄλς are under the domination of the verse. One examination paper that I remember called for the Homeric form of a pluperfect passive that would have postulated five short syllables. There was no such Homeric pluperfect. ἰδέσθαι is common in Homer. Where is ἰδόμενος? (A. J. P. XXIX 278.) You can lay your money on ὄμμα. It will come in an easy winner. There are seven forms of ὄμμα in Paulus' ἑρωτικά to two of ὄφθαλμός. Still it is not always safe to bet on metrical availability everywhere as has been shewn in the case of οὗτος and ὅδε (A. J. P. XXIX 375).

Many of the epigrams deal with hair, but the most elaborate is V 260, in which the poet watches the tiring of his mistress' locks and beauty draws us not with a single hair but with a whole head of it. If her hair is confined by a coif, he is melted in love as he beholds in her a turreted Rhea. If she lets her auburn locks flow at their own sweet will, his spirit starts all a-flutter from his bosom. If she hides her curls under a silvern kerchief a flame intolerable possesses itself of his heart. A triplet of Graces encompasses the triple fashion. Each fashion starts a fire of its own. It is, as we have seen, admired by Veniero.

Κεκρύφαλοι σφίγγουσι τὴν τρίχα; τήκομαι οἷστρω
 'Ρεῖης πυργοφόρου δεικέλον εἰσορόων.
 ἄσκεπές ἐστι κάρηνον; ἐγὼ ξανθίσμασι χαλτῆς
 ἔκχυντον ἐκ στέρνων ἐξεσόβησα νόον.
 ἀργενναῖς δθόνῃσι κατήορα βόστρυχα κεύθεις;
 οὐδὲν ἐλαφροτέρῃ φλόξ κατέχει κραδίην.
 μορφὴν τριχθαδίην Χαρίτων τριάς ἀμφιπολεύει·
 πᾶσα δέ μοι μορφὴ πῦρ ἴδιον προχέει.

The poem has been deemed worthy of translation. It is only worthy of a furnace thrice-heated, and I cite it simply because of a sunny memory of Professor Sylvester and his great poem 'A Spring Idyl'. One evening he was reading this

memorable performance to a company of friends, and reading it with his wonted rhythmical emphasis. Each verse of the hundreds rhymed with 'in' or 'ine', and we admired his wonderful dexterity and range of knowledge. Unfortunately one of the audience ventured to say—he little knew Professor Sylvester—that he could not see much poetry in the line 'Neat as feathery back-hair-pin'. His wrath was kindled and burned fiercely until I quoted Horace's

in comptum Lacaenae
More comam religata nodum.

(C. 2, 11, 23) as a vindication of the truly poetical character of the line. In the printed copy he expressed his gratitude to me, and I thought of him and many other things when I called *ὠψικόμος* as applied to Helen a 'souvenir de Paris' (A. J. P. XXIX 122).

"If a woman have long hair, it is a glory to her", says the other Paulus, and this Paulus is of the same mind. As we have seen, a single hair has been a glory to him, and he has been honoured by a reference in Bartlett's Familiar Quotations, though his name is not mentioned. No love poet fails to sport with the tangles of Neaera's hair, and hair has a good eminence in the *ἐρωτικά* as it has a bad eminence in the *Μοῦσα παιδική*. The light of the eyes, the fire of the eyes, weeping eyes, tear-worn eyes—all the artillery of eyes is brought into play, but there is scant mention of colour. Yet there is no such indifference to the colour of the hair as Benedick shews when he says: 'Her hair shall be what colour please God'. All his heroines have golden hair. The blond has been the aristocratic from time immemorial, Menelaos' hair was the hair of a 'blond beast', and the steady encroachment of the dark man in the course of the ages marks the advance of democracy. Asklepiades V 210, 3 apologizes for his brunette: *εἰ δὲ μέλαινα, τί τοῦτο*; as Sappho does for herself in Ovid, Her. 15, 35.

V 266 is something out of the ordinary and has been favoured by the translators.¹ They say that he who has been bitten by a

¹ *Ἄνδρα λυσσητῆρι κυνὸς βεβολημένον ἰψὺ
ὑδασι θηρεῖν εἰκόνα φασὶ βλέπειν.
λυσσῶων τάχα πικρὸν Ἔρως ἐνέπηξεν ὀδόντα
εἰς ἐμέ, καὶ μανίαις θυμὸν ἐλητίσατο
σὴν γὰρ ἐμοὶ καὶ πόντος ἐπήρατον εἰκόνα φαίνει,
καὶ ποταμῶν δῖναι, καὶ δέπας οἰνοχόων.*

rabid hound sees in the water the image of the beast. So it seems that 'rabid love has fixed his bitter tooth in me, and has made prey (not to say 'game') of my spirit in fits of madness. It must be so for the deep sea shews thy lovely image to me, and the river with its whirling current and the goblets of them that serve the wine (οἶνοχόων, others οἶνοχόον)'. I am not bitten by the love of the epigram and I shut out the image of the mad dog by the familiar lines 'Denn es umschwebt mich überall mild Meiner geliebten zaubrisches Bild'. There is too much madness in the world at any rate and V 266 must be dismissed to keep company with the other epigram in which the fire of love is compared to the poisoned mantle sent by Medea to Jason's bride. In this poem (V 288) Paulus calls her *Κρεοντιάδα*, which Veniero simplifies by 'corinzia'. Patronymics have a charm to poets of every order from Homer down. Ovid must have sighed when he resigned that sonorous close of the pentameter for a rather scant assortment of iambs.

V 232. A fickle maiden speaks and tells how she turns from Hippomenes to Leandros, from Leandros to Xanthos and from Xanthos back to Hippomenes.¹ 'Elegantissimo epigramma' says Veniero, who cites a host of parallels, of which there is no lack in American life. But as I read, my mind went back to Bonn and I sat once more in Ernst Moritz Arndt's lecture-room and heard him repeat with unction: Ich bin ein Mädchen von Flandern, Und springe vom einen zum andern. The history of Flanders shews many changes. The change to constancy may be another.

V 234 is one of two poems that deal with the sorrows of a middle-aged man, a 'ci-devant jeune homme', an ὠμογέρων in

¹ Ἴππομένην φιλέουσα, νόον προσέεισα Λεάνδρῳ
 ἐν δὲ Λεανδρείοις χεῖλεσι πηγνυμένη,
 εἰκόνα τὴν Ξάνθοιο φέρω φρεσὶ· πλεξαμένη δὲ
 Ξάνθον, ἐς Ἴππομένην νόστιμον ἦτορ ἄγω.
 πάντα τὸν ἐν παλάμῃσιν ἀναίνομαι· ἄλλοτε δ' ἄλλον
 αἰὲν ἀμοιβαίοις πῆχεσι δεχνομένη,
 ἀφνειὴν Κυθήρειαν ὑπέρχομαι. εἰ δέ τις ἡμῖν
 μέμφεται, ἐν πενίῃ μιμνέτω οἰογάμῳ.

love.¹ Veniero, as has been noted, sees in this epigram a note of actuality. In one of his Odes, Horace considers himself immune at forty. At fifty he feels the stirring of what is popularly known as the youth of old age, as dangerous an age for a man as forty for a woman. Here we have an old fellow with 'lyart haffets' who has renounced Pallas for Aphrodite. The measles of love goes hard with an old boy. Think of Goethe's last love affair (A. J. P. XXIII 111). The second plaint (V 264) goes into greater detail and asks for more than a smile from the cruel fair.² The poet gives a more minute description of his faded hair, his eyes wet with tears, his eyeballs the footballs of ineffectual longing, tokens of the darts of love. Untimely wrinkles already furrow his flanks, a flabby dewlap hangs from his chin. As the flowers of love's flame wax young, in like measure do his joints wax old by reason of his carking care. Shew pity, lady, grant him favour and forthwith his flesh will take on youth again and his hair turn black once more. It is only the man, be it noted, whose hair is black. No answer is vouchsafed. The confession of his wrinkled flank was fatal. 'Qui latus argueret corneus arcus erat', says Master Ovid of the chaste Penelope: and imagination supplies the mocking answer to this lovesick plea: Prenez garde, je pourrais faiblir.

¹ Ὁ πρὶν ἀμαλθάκτοισιν ὑπὸ φρεσὶν ἡδὺν ἐν ἥβῃ
οἰστροφόρου Παφίης θεσμὸν ἀπειπάμενος,
γυιοβόροις βελέεσσιν ἀνέμβατος ὁ πρὶν Ἑρώτων.
αὐχένα σοὶ κλίνω, Κύπρι, μεσαιπόλιος.
δέξο με κατχαλώωσα, σοφὴν ὅτι Παλλάδα νικᾷς
νῦν πλέον ἢ τὸ πάρος μῆλ' ἔφ' Ἑσπερίδων.

² Βόστρυχον ὠμογέροντα τί μέμφεαι, ὀμματά θ' ὕγρα
δάκρυσιν; ὑμετέρων παίγνια ταῦτα πόθων·
φροντίδες ἀπρήκτοιο πόθον τάδε, ταῦτα βελέμωνων
σύμβολα, καὶ δολιχῆς ἔργα νυχεγρεσίης.
καὶ γὰρ πον λαγόνεσσι ῥυτίς πανάωριος ἤδη,
καὶ λαγαρὸν δειρῇ δέρμα περικρέμαται.
ὅππῃσον ἡβάσκει φλογὸς ἄνθεα, τόσσον ἐμεῖο
ἄψευα γηράσκει φροντίδι γυιοβόρῳ.
ἀλλὰ κατοικτίρῃσα δίδου χάριν· αὐτίκα γάρ μοι
χρῶς ἀναθλήσει κρατὶ μελαινομένῳ.

V 244,¹ 246,² we have what would be called in some parts of America a kissing bee. In the Parisians the elder Lytton puts the word 'bee' as an equivalent of 'company' in the mouth of a Confederate colonel—as it seemed to me not very aptly. There is, says Paulus, the long resounding kiss of Galatea, the soft kiss of Demo, the incisive kiss of Doris, but his heart responds to Demo.

εἰ δέ τις ἄλλη
τέρπεται, ἐκ Δημοῦς ἡμέας οὐκ ἐρύσει.

Somehow the loud resounding kiss does not sort very well with what we know of Galatea elsewhere, but what he says of Sappho flies in the face of our conception of the poetess. 'Soft her kisses, soft the embraces of her snowy limbs, but her heart is of adamant, ψυχῇ δ' ἐξ ἀδάμαντος'. Her love stops at the lips. Could Paulus have ever read anything of burning Sappho's? We often envy the Byzantines their richer stores but they seem to have been more familiar with Menander (V 217) than with the early lyrist. Schwartz could not have read the Anthology very carefully when he questioned whether Menander's works were known in Julian's time (A. J. P. XVII 249). Tell us, Pothos and Himeros, why has Paulus taken the name of Sappho in vain? We forgive him for playing with Theokritos' Galatea but he ought to have let Sappho sleep alone.

V 248 is an apology for the liberties taken by the poet's hands. The modern's first thought is of a situation often referred to by Paulus, for he is what La Fontaine calls an 'amoureux de têttons'. In V 258 (p. 55) there is one proof text, in V 272 (p. 71) there is another. But for that he does not apolo-

¹ Μακρὰ φιλεῖ Γαλάτεια καὶ ἔμψοφα, μαλθακὰ Δημῷ,
Δωρὶς ὀδακτάζει. τίς πλέον ἐξερέθει;
οὐατα μὴ κρίνωσι φιλήματα· γευσάμενοι δὲ
τριχθαδίων στομάτων, ψῆφον ἐποισόμεθα.
ἐπλάγχθης, κραδίη· τὰ φιλήματα μαλθακὰ Δημοῦς
ἔγνωσ καὶ δροσερῶν ἡδὺν ἐπὶ στομάτων·
μίμν' ἐπὶ τοῖς· ἀδέκαστον ἔχει στέφος. εἰ δέ τις ἄλλη
τέρπεται, ἐκ Δημοῦς ἡμέας οὐκ ἐρύσει.

² Μαλθακὰ μὲν Σαπφούς τὰ φιλήματα, μαλθακὰ γυνῶν
πλέγματα χιονέων, μαλθακὰ πάντα μέλη·
ψυχῇ δ' ἐξ ἀδάμαντος ἀπειθέος· ἄχρι γὰρ οἶων
ἔστιν ἔρωσ στομάτων, τᾶλλα δὲ παρθενίης.
καὶ τίς ὑποτλάη; τάχα τις, τάχα τοῦτο ταλάσσας
δίψαν Τανταλέην τλήσεται εὐμαρέως.

gize. It is part of the game. The liberties here meant are those taken by so many antique lovers and modern wife-beaters. The Roman elegists are much given to whipping the stream of love and the remains of Menander's *Περικειρομένη* have brought this phase of love to the front of late. My own mind turns to Lucian, *Dialog. Meretr.* 8 and to my early reading of St. Augustin's *Confessions*—from which I learned that St. Monica was beaten by her husband Patricius, though St. Monica really seems to have deserved her punishment.¹

V 250 might be a modern drawing-room scene, such as we find depicted in our illustrated magazines. Sweet are the tears of Lais, *γλυκύδακρυς* is one of Meleager's adjectives—tears for fear her lover may leave her after all. Men were deceivers ever—the old song.²

The 'comédie larmoyante' of love is much better managed here than in V 275³ in which the lover takes an unhallowed

¹ Ὡ παλάμη πάντολμε, σὺ τὸν παγχρύσειον ἔτλης
ἀπρίξ δραξαμένη βόστρυχον αὐ ἐρύσαι·
ἔτλης; οὐκ ἐμάλαξε τὸν θράσος αἴλινος αὐδῇ,
σκύλμα κόμης, αὐχὴν μαλθακὰ κεκλιμένος.
νῦν θαμνοῖς πατάγοισι μάτην τὸ μέτωπον ἀράσσεις·
οὐκέτι γὰρ μαζοῖς σὸν θέναρ ἐμπελάσει.
μή, λίτομαι, δέσποινα, τόσῃν μὴ λάμβανε ποινὴν·
μᾶλλον ἐγὼ τλαίην φάσγανον ἀσπασίως.

² Ἦδύ, φίλοι, μεῖδημα τὸ Λαῖδος· ἡδὺ κατ' αὐ τῶν
ἡπιοδινήτων δάκρυ χέει βλεφάρων.
χθιζά μοι ἀπροφάσιτον ἐπέστενε, ἐγκλιδὸν ὦμο
ἡμετέρῳ κεφαλῇ δὴρὸν ἐρεισαμένη·
μυρομένην δ' ἐφίλησα· τὰ δ' ὡς δροσερῆς ἀπὸ πηγῆς
δάκρυα μιγνυμένων πίπτε κατὰ στομάτων.
εἶπε δ' ἀνειρομένη, 'Τίνος εἵνεκα δάκρυα λείβεις';
'Δεῖδια μὴ με λίπης· ἐστὲ γὰρ ὀρκαπάται.'

³ Δειελινῷ χαρίεσσα Μενεκρατὶς ἔκχυτος ὕπνω
κεῖτο περὶ κροτάφους πῆχυν ἐλιξαμένη·
τολμήσας δ' ἐπέβην λεχέων ὑπερ. ὥς δὲ κελεύθου
ἤμισυ κυπριδὴς ἦννον ἀσπασίως,
ἡ παῖς ἐξ ὕπνοιο διέγρετο, χερσὶ δὲ λευκαῖς
κράατος ἡμετέρου πᾶσαν ἔτιλλε κόμην·
μαρναμένης δὲ τὸ λοιπὸν ἀνύσσαμεν ἔργον ἔρωτος.
ἡ δ' ὑποπιμπλαμένη δάκρυσιν εἶπε τάδε·
'Σχέτλιε, νῦν μὲν ἔρεξας ὁ τοι φίλον, ᾧ ἐπὶ πουλὸν
πολλάκι σῆς παλάμης χρυσὸν ἀπωμοσάμην·
οἰχόμενος δ' ἄλλην ὑποκόλπιον εὐθὺς ἐλίξεις·
ἐστὲ γὰρ ἀπλήστου Κύπριδος ἐργατίται.'

advantage of the sleep of his beloved. The situation is familiar. The order of the action reminds one of Petronius, and the tearful close recalls one of Hogarth's pictures, significantly called 'After'. It is the coarsest of Paulus' performances, but even Meleager sins at times (e. g. V 263), and betrays his Gergesene blood by consorting with the swine, as on the other hand even Straton has been admitted into the refined society of Mr. Mackail's readers.

V 252 which is an Introduction to the Dance of Love reminds me of a passage in Mérimée's *Lettres à une Inconnue* in which he describes the nude figure that heads a Bacchanal procession as 'un monsieur dépourvu de toute décence'—and in this poem Paulus' study of the nude may seem to fall under the same reprobation—and his translator may have to bear a like charge, but whenever I ramble through the Anthology, the tickling devil of rhyme assails me, and perhaps I shall be forgiven for this specimen of the forbidden fruit:

Let us cast our robes aside
For our play, my charming <bride>,
Naught between us be, no space
Interfere with our embrace;
Any filmy lace at all
Be to us a Chinese wall;
Breast to breast in closest clip,
Lip be prest to dewy lip.
For the rest my modest Muse
Must the open door refuse.¹

'Bride' is a tribute to morality and to that 'mad negro' as Verlaine calls 'rhyme'; 'Chinese wall' is a suggestion of Veniero's; 'dewy lip' is borrowed from V 270, but it is at any rate in 252 an *epitheton ornans*. I have never seen a rhyming translation of it in English, and there are those who will think

¹ 'Ρίψωμεν, χαρίεσσα, τὰ φάρεα· γυμνὰ δὲ γυμνοῖς
ἐμπελάσει γυίοις γυῖα περιπλοκάδην·
μηδὲν ἔοι τὸ μεταξύ· Σεμιράμιδος γὰρ ἐκεῖνο
τείχος ἐμοὶ δοκέει λεπτὸν ὕφασμα σέθεν·
στήθεα δ' ἐξεύχθω, τὰ τε χεῖλεα· τὰλλα δὲ σιγῇ
κρυπτέον· ἐχθαίρω τὴν ἀδυροστομίην.

that I might have been better employed.¹ Here is what Veniero makes of it:

Giu! spogliamo, o graziosa, le vesti; poi nude le membra
S'intrecceranno strette con le tue membra nude!
Nulla di mezzo resti! Ben l'alta muraglia sarebbe
Di Semiramide qui solo un leggero velo.
Ecco: petto su petto, le labbra compriman le labbra,
Zitto sul resto: ho in odio lingua che freno non ha

V 262. Alas! alas! for the honeyed speech and the glance of the lids with their secret utterance. No matter how near we stand to each other we are numbed by the gaze of a crone like unto the multiple eye of the herdsman of the daughter of Inachos. Stand and spy and fret thy soul for thou canst not stretch thy vision to the soul.² The herdsman is Argos and the daughter of Inachos—Io, as it is needless to explain. I have already commented parenthetically on Veniero's remark about the mythological learning displayed by Paulus and his like. Any schoolboy of my day, when Lemprière's dictionary was the standard would have been equal to solving all Pauline problems of that sort. The most remote allusion I have found is the reference to the 'Cretan judgment-seat' a periphrase for Minos³ V 274. In his rendering Veniero has substituted

¹ As I was hesitating whether to print this or not, my eye fell on 'Toi et Moi', a collection of poems by Paul Géraudy, which reached its ninth edition in 1916, and in these days of classical echoes, I am encouraged to cite a passage which may have been inspired by Paulus or haply the other Paulus's messenger of Satan.

Prenons-nous. Le meilleur moyen
De s'expliquer sans être dupe
C'est de s'êtreindre corps à corps.
Vite! allons. Viens dans mes bras toute nue.

² φεῦ φεῦ, καὶ τὸ λάλημα τὸ μελιχρον ὁ φθόνος εἶργει,
βλέμμα τε λαθριδίως φθεγγομένων βλεφάρων.
ἰσταμένης δ' ἀγχιστα τεθήπαμεν ὄμμα γεραιῆς,
οἷα πολύγληνον βουκόλον Ἰναχίης.
ἴστασο, καὶ σκοπίαζε, μάτην δὲ σὸν ἦτορ ἀμύσσου·
οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ ψυχῆς ὄμμα τὸν τανύσεις.

³ Τὴν πρὶν ἐνσφρήγισεν Ἔρως θρασὺς εἰκόνα μορφῆς
ἡμετέρης θερμῷ βένθει σῆς κραδίης,
φεῦ φεῦ, νῦν ἀδόκητος ἀπέπτυσας· αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ τοι
γραπτὸν ἔχω ψυχῇ σῇς τύπον ἀγλαΐης.
τοῦτον καὶ Φαέθοντι καὶ Ἀίδι, βάρβαρε, δείξω,
Κρῆσσαν ἐπισπέρχων εἰς σὲ δικασπολίην.

'Minosse' for *Κρῆσσαν δικασπολίην* a proceeding against which I protested not long ago (A. J. P. XXXVII 284).

V 268. Sadly familiar is the St. Sebastian of love,¹ though not quite so familiar as the Christian saint in the picture-galleries of Europe. 'Let no one fear the shafts of desire. Eros has emptied all his quiver in me.' Very different, by the way, is the Oriental quiver in the matter of love and I never follow the example of those who are fond of calling the head of a large family Mr. Quiverful with a supposedly playful reference to Ps. 127, 4: As arrows are in the hands of a mighty man, so are the children of thy youth. 5. Happy is the man that hath his quiver full of them. My former pupil Dr. Briggs translated it 'that hath filled his quiver with them' and I am reminded of Sirach 25, 12 where we find a more drastic expression for Ez. 16, 25. As I have a character for refinement to sustain and have moreover a wholesome dread of Herr Keil (A. J. P. XXXVII 272) I quote the LXX version: *κατέναντι παντὸς πασσάλου καθήσεται καὶ ἔναντι βέλους ἀνοίξει φαρέτραν.*

V 272. Eyes, as we have seen, dominate but lips have their turn and one is tempted to say "Take, oh take those lips away" (that by this time are outworn), but what if the *ἡθεος ἁρμονίη* be lacking. This is a point on which Paulus insists. There must be no divided allegiance. The lady of this poem is one of those who as Juvenal says 'concumbunt Graece'. Horace has his fling at the literary lady who anticipates Catherine of Russia. Paulus is evidently of the same opinion with Rivarol: *Ayez du goût comme un beau fruit, Et de l'esprit comme une rose.* No half Athena, half Aphrodite for him. To adapt one of Thackeray's parodies—Take her for half and half, I would not care to see her like again. *Sei nur nichts halb*, says Goethe. It is good Epicurean doctrine, but preeminently good Stoic doctrine, and I have actually cited Calvin to my purpose,

¹ *Μηκέτι τις πτήξειε πόθου βέλος· ἰοδόκην γὰρ
εἰς ἐμὲ λάβρος Ἔρως ἐξεκένωσεν ὅλην.
μὴ πτερύγων τρομέοι τις ἐπήλυσιν· ἐξότε γάρ μοι
λὰξ ἐπιβάς στέρνοισ πικρὸν ἔπηξε πόδα,
ἀστεμφής, ἀδόνητος ἐνέζεται, οὐδὲ μετέστη,
εἰς ἐμὲ συζυγίην κειράμενος πτερύγων.*

Persius, Introduction.¹ In V 272² and V 300³ we have a portrait of a Byzantine Kate the Curst. She is addressed as *παρθένε θυμολέαινα* in this love-ditty, but the character of her set might seem to justify Wilamowitz's contention that *παρθένος* does not mean 'virgin'—as it must mean in Theok. Id. XXVII s. f. and in many other passages in which the word *παρθένος* is used. *θυμολέαινα* set me to thinking about the etymology of *Λαίς*. Aristippos' famous mot <Λαίδα> ἔχω ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔχομαι suggests *λαύειν and λαβεῖν and Homer's ἀσπαίροντα λάων becomes ἀσπαίροντα <λάουσα>, but it is not improbable that *Lais* was a Syrian importation—and 'lionne' would not be a bad name for her. These women of the half-world, or rather the whole world, bore significant names as we can see from Horace's list (A. J. P. XVIII 122).

Of course, I could keep up this line of comment indefinitely, but it is time to turn to other matters of graver import to a scholar than those trifles, which may seem unworthy of the grave profession which I have relinquished. A word then on the subject of composition. Another and still briefer on the subject of syntax in Paulus.

I have already adverted to the number of compounds employed by Paulus. Statistics seem to be needless in so plain a matter, but I have made a rough count for my own satisfaction. There are about 125 distichs in the remains of Simonides, genuine and spurious. Take twenty-seven of the ἐρωτικά of

¹ P. xxxii, where 'qui' should follow 'dimidium', a correction I have been yearning to make these forty odd years.

² Μαζοὺς χερσὶν ἔχω, στόματι στόμα, καὶ περὶ δειρὴν
ἄσχετα λυσσῶν βόσκομαι ἀργυφέν,
οὐπω δ' Ἀφρογένειαν δλην ἔλον· ἀλλ' ἔτι κάμνω,
παρθένον ἀμφιέπων λέκτρον ἀναινομένην.
ἥμισυ γὰρ Παφίη, τὸ δ' ἄρ' ἥμισυ δῶκεν Ἀθήνη·
αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ μέσσοις τήκομαι ἀμφοτέρων.

³ Ὁ θρασὺς ὑψαύχην τε καὶ ὀφρύας εἰς ἐν ἀγείρων
κεῖται παρθενικῆς παίγνιον ἀδρανέος.
ὁ πρὶν ὑπερβασίῃ δοκέων τὴν παῖδα χαλέπτειν,
αὐτὸς ὑποδυθεὶς ἐλπίδος ἐκτὸς ἔβη.
καὶ ῥ' ὁ μὲν ἱκεσίοισι πεσὼν θηλύνεται οἴκτοισι·
ἡ δὲ κατ' ὀφθαλμῶν ἄρσενά μῆνιν ἔχει.
παρθένε θυμολέαινα καὶ εἰ χόλον ἔνδικον αἶθες,
σβέσσον ἀγηνορίην, ἐγγὺς ἴδ' ἐς Νέμεσιν.

Paulus, which hold about the same number and compare them with the first 125 distichs of the Theognidea and the excess of compounds in Paulus will prove to be considerable. That the excess over Simonides is not so great is due to the great number in the two spurious *eis* 'Ανακρέοντα. The Greek moderation shews itself here as it shews itself in the use of periphrastic tenses. And then we must consider the character of the compounds. Many of the compounds in Theognis and Simonides are familiar and easy combinations, which cannot be said of Paulus. 'The learned Greek—blessed in the lovely marriage of pure words'—was given to spawning in the later centuries on the German principle: Wer lang hat, lässt lang hängen, or as the Italians put it: Chi ha del panno può menar la coda. A comparison of Plato and Plutarch would be suggestive.

Of the syntax there is little to be said or that I care to say. Like modern versewrights Paulus escapes censure by his close adherence to his predecessors. The optative was practically dead in his day and we are not surprised at the potential without *ἄν* V 246, V 254 but with *ᾗν*-sounds in the neighborhood, *τλαίην φάσσανον ἀσπασίως* as happens to his betters (A. J. P. XII 387). There is a leaning to the imperative optative V 252, 2; 268, 1 and *μηκέτι* with the participle shews the inevitable trend V 228. On the articular infinitive I have remarked already.¹

BASIL L. GILDERSLEEVE.

¹ Mr. Paton in his Preface to his Translation of the Greek Anthology received after this article was in type, says that 'the Byzantine Anthologists wrote in a language which they did not command, but by which they were commanded, as all who try to write ancient Greek are'. Well, the Byzantines were much more obedient to the command of the language than some of their modern rivals, and I have been struck by their appreciation of the ethos of Greek Syntax at points which have been overlooked by grammarians of high rank. They do not actually eschew the articular infinitive, but they are shy of it as we are shy of using in more elevated language an infinitive for a substantive. 'In the know', 'in the swim' are not poetical expressions. Elegiac poetry on the whole avoids the articular infinitive (A. J. P. XXXIII 107). 'Ἀδὸ τὸ βίειν (V 29) is an exception that proves the point of the vulgar origin. Mr. Paton's *fruition* is a mistranslation. The pres. inf. has to do with process, not attainment, and I cannot recall an aorist of the verb. It is a case for Osthoff's *Suppletivwesen* (A. J. P. XXI 474).

IV.—THE PRONUNCIATION OF A FINAL CONSONANT WHEN FOLLOWED BY AN INITIAL CONSONANT IN A LATIN WORD-GROUP.

We are well aware of the fact that in speaking English or in reading it aloud we do not pronounce the several words of a sentence exactly as we would pronounce them in a dictionary, for instance, if they were written in a column one above another. Sometimes cultivated foreigners who have had only a limited opportunity to speak English, by making independent units of all the words in a sentence in their rendition of it, remind us of our accepted practice by way of contrast. But in ordinary conversation, if I ask a friend, "Were you at home day before yesterday", he notices that in two respects I fail to preserve the integrity of the individual words. His ear catches not seven but two units in my question. One of these is made up of the first four words with a primary accent on "home", and in the second three-word unit there is perhaps a secondary accent on "day" and a primary accent on the first syllable of "yesterday". In the second place he notices that the third and fourth words are run together and are pronounced as if written *atóm*. From this illustration it is clear that words in connected discourse may not retain the same pronunciation and accent which they have when they stand detached from one another. Of course this method of speaking and reading is not peculiar to English. In such a sentence as *vous-aurez de quoi vous-occuper au logis* we see a similar grouping with like results. If we pass from the formal to the vulgar speech of any language the changes in accentuation and in the influence which words within a group have upon the pronunciation of one another become still more marked. This fact is clearly enough indicated, for instance, by the shop girl's "Whad-chew think-uv't?" (= "What did you think of it?").

To what extent were words grouped in Latin according to sense, and what effect did this grouping have on the pronunciation of a sentence? These are two of the questions which

naturally suggest themselves to us from observing our usage in the case of connected discourse in English. As is well known, considerable progress has already been made in answering the first question by Lindsay, Romain, Skutsch, and others. From their investigations it has been established that sentence enclitics and proclitics include not only certain particles like *-que* and *-ve*, but also various forms of the substantive verb, the personal, possessive and demonstrative pronouns, when unemphatic, relative and indefinite pronouns, prepositions, conjunctions, auxiliary verbs, and many nouns of colorless meaning. Consequently we get such word-groups as *circum-litora*, *meus-pater*, *operam-dare*, *volo-scire*, and *quomodo*. Indeed we may say with confidence that the Roman grouped his words in speaking or reading as the English-speaking person does to-day.

Some progress has been made too in determining the principles of sentence-accentuation. Consequently, we shall pass over these subjects and address ourselves to the second and more obscure point of difference, noted above, considering the influence which words within a group have on the pronunciation of one another. We are thinking of course of the phonetical changes which may occur between the final syllable of one word in a sentence and the initial syllable of the following word. In the sequence of these two syllables four different cases are possible. One word may end in a vowel and the next word may begin with a vowel,¹ or we may have the combination of a vowel and a consonant, or of a consonant and a vowel, or of a consonant and a consonant. We may have, for instance, *opera interrupta*, *memorable numen*, *per ossa*, or *iterum narrans*. Let us confine our attention to combinations of the *iterum-narrans* type, because less seems to be known about them than about the others, and because any information which may be had concerning their pronunciation will be of far-reaching importance for the correct reading of Latin, since, if phonetical changes arise in combinations of this character, they are likely to be numerous and important.

¹ An interesting treatment of this phase of the subject may be found in the article by Sturtevant and Kent entitled "Elision and Hiatus in Latin Prose and Verse" in the *Trans. Am. Phil. Assoc.* Vol. XLVI (1915) 129-155.

In seeking to determine whether such changes take place or not, we may look for evidence in the statements made on this point by Latin writers or in the phonetical spellings found in inscriptions or in manuscripts. There are at least three passages, two in Cicero (*ad fam.* 9. 22. 2 and *Orat.* 154) and one in Quintilian (8. 3. 45) which are of special interest in this connection. They prove beyond question that the final *m* of *cum* the preposition and the conjunction was assimilated to an initial *n* in the following word. The reference which both writers make to assimilation in these cases is incidental to the discussion of another subject, so that their failure to mention other cases of assimilation beside that of *m* followed by *n* does not at all carry the implication that the phenomenon was limited to this combination.

For further evidence, as has been intimated, we may turn to the phonetical spellings in the inscriptions and manuscripts. Naturally we shall find such spellings only in the productions of the illiterate, and even there we should bear the fact in mind that every one of the engravers or copyists involved made an earnest effort to spell in the accepted fashion, so that each deviation from the norm counts for more than its face value.

The inscriptions which I have examined for the purpose of getting light on the points in question are contained in the collections made by Diehl and bearing the titles *Vulgärlateinische Inschriften* and *Pompeianische Wandinschriften*, together with the Latin inscriptions in Audollent's *Defixionum Tabellae*. Together they number about twenty-five hundred, and therefore furnish a reasonable amount of suitable material for the purpose in question. They are inscriptions in which we should look for phonetical spellings, because most of the people who composed or engraved them were evidently illiterate. They come from all parts of the Empire, and unfortunately few of them can be dated accurately, but almost all of them belong to the imperial period. We have assumed on a priori grounds and from the English analogue that if the sequence of the final and initial consonant of two consecutive words give rise to any phonetical changes, the changes will occur within word-groups. This assumption is established by what we find in the vulgar inscriptions. Almost without exception assimilation takes place

between the parts of a word-group. It will suffice to cite a few illustrations of this fact, such cases, for instance, as *sextunque* (V. L. In. 241), *cun coniuge* (1375), *in quan die* (616), *pos morte* (1462), *at tuos* (229), *ommeritis* (1327) *no mereti* = *non merenti* (688), *tan cito* (1097), and *emmimoriam* = *in memoriam* (155).

One naturally asks if the cases of phonetical spelling to be found in the vulgar inscriptions are clear enough and numerous enough to enable us to determine the phonetical laws upon which they rest. It seems possible to answer that question in the affirmative.

Final *m* furnishes the largest number of instances where a phonetical change occurs. Seelmann in his *Aussprache d. Latein*, p. 268 ff., has explained the fluctuation between final *m* and *n* in certain epigraphical forms by assuming the existence of a sound which was not accurately represented by either letter, but such a sound would almost certainly have been preserved in the Romance languages, and they show no trace of it, as Seelmann himself confesses, so that his theory can hardly be accepted. How this fluctuation should be explained comes out with reasonable clearness from the facts found in the vulgar inscriptions. In these inscriptions there are 73 cases of final *n* for *m*. So far as the initial letter of the next word is concerned, they are grouped as follows: Before initial *n* 2 cases, *t* 2, *th* 1, *d* 4, *c* or *k* 12, *q* 20, *s* 3, *f* 5, *v* 3, *l* 1, *p* 9, *m* 5, *r* 1, and before an initial vowel 5. Now if we look at the principles of assimilation which are followed in compounds where *m* is brought before another consonant, taking compounds with *com-* for convenience in comparison, we find that *com-* appears as *con-* before *t*, *d*, *c*, *q*, *g*, *s*, *f*, and *v*; as *com-* before *p*, *b*, and *m*; before *l* as *con-* or *col-*, before *r* usually as *cor-*, before *n* as *co-*.

If we turn now to the vulgar inscriptions, of the 68 instances where one of two words in a word-group ends in *m* and the following one begins with a consonant, we see the same rules of assimilation followed in 50 of these cases, viz., with initial *t*, *d*, *c*, *q*, *s*, *f*, and *v*, as govern the treatment of the final consonant of the first member in a compound. To these we may properly add the 2 cases of complete assimilation before *n*,

making 52 in all out of 68.¹ The 14 cases of *n* before *p* and *m* are a little surprising at first sight, but they probably represent a tendency frequently seen in the writings of the illiterate who, in their misdirected efforts to be correct, unwittingly offset errors of one kind by committing mistakes of exactly the opposite sort. The writer, for instance, who puts down *mesis* or *abitat* in one line will very likely make his average use of the written *n* and *h* good in the next line by using the forms *pariens* or *hegit*. In a similar way we should probably explain such spellings as *fecerum filio* for *fecerunt filio* (Diehl, V. I. 678), of which there are five cases in the body of these inscriptions before the initial consonants *f*, *s*, and *q*, and the same statement may be made concerning the form *obitorunt* for *obitorum* (575). Another form of this sort, *eorunt* for *eorum*, is cited by Diehl in his monograph *De m finali epigraphica*, p. 287. Altogether there are twenty-one instances where the combination *-nt* loses the dental, either before a consonant or at the end of a sentence. The loss never occurs before a vowel, which would tend to show that in the grouping of such combinations the dental was pronounced where it could be joined without difficulty to the following vowel, but that when a consonant followed, it was eliminated.²

Returning for a moment to the simple nasals we find the adverb *non* reduced to *no* in eight cases,³ *co* for *con-* or *com-* twice.⁴ In all these cases, of which *no mala* and *co suis* may be given as illustrations, the phonetical changes indicated are parallel to those with which we are familiar in the interior of words in the vulgar inscriptions, in such forms as *tosores* (Di. V. I. 649), *Cocessae* (716), and *ad iferos* (439). The actual linking together of words, with the suppression of the final nasal,

¹ It seems unnecessary to cite all of these cases. The following illustrations taken from Diehl's *Vulgärlat. Inschr.* will show their character: *con qua* 655, *quan nunc* 707, *cun fratribus* 777, *cun cenaculis* 785, *donun dedit* 604, *cun suis* 608, *felicen te* 615, *nunquan nemine* 1498.

² Some illustrations are *fuereun debuit* (Diehl, V. I. 494), *fecerun qui debuerun*, at end of line (569). In this connection we should perhaps notice the three cases (*posuoru* 296, *feceru* 606, and *locaveeru* 1430), all at the end of a sentence or a line, where the entire ending *-nt* is dropped.

³ Diehl, V. I. 182, 373, 688, 711; Diehl, P. W. 459, 659; Audollent 22066, 221, 23.

⁴ Diehl, V. I. 54, 289.

is illustrated in centumilia (425, 636) titulumemoriens (540), hominesse (634), molestust¹ = molestum est (633), moriundust = moriundum est (633), moriendust = moriendum est (634), and redeudus = redeundum (est) (635). The consciousness of the illiterate man that he is liable to this error in his pronunciation is shown by the perverse spelling of nonmina for nomina in No. 575.

Under *b*, in the word-groups ommeritis (Diehl, V. I. 1327), and o meritis (ibid. 1437), we find the same assimilation as occurs in summitto for submitto.

The treatment of final *d* and *t* before initial consonants is puzzling. There are cases, like at tuos (Diehl, V. I. 229), and deded donavit (411), where assimilation is shown by the change which takes place in the accepted form of the first word. It is also noticeable that there are fifty-two changes of the historically correct *d* to *t* and only two from *t* to *d*, and that this difference in treatment corresponds in a striking way to the difference in the character of the words ending in *d* and *t* in Latin. Most of those ending in *t* are verbs and are naturally the last words in a phrase, while those ending in *d* are proclitics. In the vulgar inscriptions under discussion, for instance, the words in which the final *d* is changed to *t* are ad, apud, aliud, aliquid, quod, sed, and quoad.² It may be worth noticing also that there are several cases in which *d* is assimilated to *t* before an initial *t*³ but only one case in which *d* gives way to *t* before *d*. On the other hand there are instances of the change before all the initial consonants with the exception of *r*. On the whole, therefore, perhaps we should conclude that the final dental was sounded faintly or that the distinction in sound between *d* and *t* was not clearly enough marked for the careless speaker to

¹ This form and those which immediately follow have been sufficiently discussed by Diehl; cf. *De m finali epigraphica*, p. 117 f.

² It is interesting to notice in this connection that the Greek words in which final *v* is most frequently assimilated to a following consonant in the papyri are *τόν*, *τήν*, *τῶν*; *δν*, *ήν*, *ὦν*; *άν*, *έάν*, *έν*, *έπάν*, *μέν*, *αὐτόν*, *τοσοῦτον*, *πλέον*; *πλήν*, and *νῦν*; cf. Mayser, *Grammatik d. gr. Papyri*, p. 231.

³ For interesting cases of this sort in MSS., cf. Heraeus, *Quaestiones criticae et palaeographicae de vetustissimis codicibus Livianis*, p. 33 f.

detect it. The reduction of *post* to *pos*, as in the MSS,¹ occurs several times, especially in the standing phrase *pos mortem*, of which there are four instances. In this connection may be mentioned the interesting forms *et ies* = *et dies* (540) and *inie* = *in die* (539). The loss of the dental in the ending *-nt* has already been mentioned (p. 77).

Under final *c* the only noteworthy thing is its omission before *t* in the phrase in *ho titulo* (494).

The facts concerning final *s* have been collected by Miss Proskauer in *Das Auslautende -s auf den lateinischen Inschriften*, and may be passed over here.

One of the clearest indications of the liaison between words which formed a sense-unit, and of the consequent phonetical changes which took place, is offered by the use of the prosthetic vowel, usually *i*, in the vulgar inscriptions. In the collections which we are discussing there are twenty-two such cases, eleven before *sp*, three each before *sc*, *sm*, and *st*, and two before simple *s*. In all but three of these cases the preceding word ends in a consonant.²

We have been examining certain points connected with the pronunciation of the word-group, and in closing this paper it may not be without interest to cite from these inscriptions a list of the groups, whose existence is revealed even to the eye by the fact that they are written as units. They are *obmerita* (P. W. 137) *exfamilia* (V. I. 530), *inie* = *in die* (539), *exsententia* (1299), *ommeritis* (1327), *inea aede* (1502, bis), *inse* (1509), *subcura* (1552), *centumilia* (636), *molestust* (633), *moriundust* (633), *moriendust* (634), and *hominesse* (634).

This brief study was undertaken not with the expectation of establishing in all their details the principles which govern the pronunciation of the final and the initial consonant in a word-

¹ Cf. Ritschl, *Opusc.* II. 549; Ribbeck's *Vergil*, *Prol.* 442; cf. also Stolz' *Hist. Grammatik d. lat. Sprache*, Bd. I, p. 335.

² The instances are Diehl, V. I. 46, 209, 210, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 372, 1064, 1480, 1562, 1564; Audollent, 268.1, 279.15, 244.66, 220a.4, 220b.4, 250a.17, and 253.65. For the prosthetic vowel in MSS., cf. Schuchardt, *Vokalismus* II. 338 ff. A possible case of a prosthetic vowel in vulgar Greek is furnished by the form *ἀσπασάμενος* = *σπασάμενος* in Mayser's *Grammatik d. gr. Papyri*, p. 155.

group, but rather in the hope of making a small contribution to that end. Of course the subject has a most important practical bearing on the correct reading of prose and verse, because of the very large number of cases in which within sense-units there were concurrent consonants in the situation mentioned. If these were subject to phonetical changes, our accepted method of rendering a Latin sentence would be so far removed from that of the Roman of Cicero's day that he would find it difficult to understand us. In this connection the interesting question arises whether the educated and the illiterate Roman read and spoke Latin in the same way, so far as this element in pronunciation was concerned. That educated people assimilated the final consonant to the initial consonant of the next word, in certain groups at least, seems to be clear from the statements made on this point by Cicero and Quintilian. At the same time it is highly probable that men without education, like Seleucus and Echion, for instance, in Petronius, carried the practice much farther. Of course the fact that written proof of assimilation, except as it appears in such accepted and crystallized groups as *affatim*, *illico* and *imprimis*, is found almost entirely in illiterate inscriptions does not show that these phonetical changes took place in vulgar speech only, nor does the amount of such evidence measure the frequency of the occurrence, because everybody strove to spell in the accepted way and it is only the unconscious slips due to ignorance or absentmindedness that reveal the true state of affairs. Still, in spite of this earnest desire to spell correctly, a fair number of cases of change in the spelling has come down to us, and the significant thing is that these deviations from the accepted orthography are not haphazard, nor due in large measure to individual idiosyncrasy, but are determined by the same phonetic laws which prevail in the case of the final consonant in the first member of a compound word.¹

¹ Professor Buck has found the same principles governing consonant assimilation in external combination in the Greek inscriptions as we have tried to outline here for the vulgar Latin inscriptions. On pp. 71-72 of his *Greek Dialects* he says of changes in external combination, including elision and crasis under this head, that "the changes occur mainly between words standing in close logical relation." Later he remarks "while the less radical changes, such as the elision of a short vowel or the simpler forms of consonant assimilation, are least restricted in scope and survive the longest, the more violent forms of crasis and of con-

If we formulate the principal conclusions to which these inscriptions point—yet one does this with some diffidence—we seem to find a tendency in Latin word-groups to change final *m* to *n* before *n*, *t*, *th*, *d*, *c*, (or *k*), *q*, *s*, *f*, and *v*, a tendency to drop final *m* or *n* before a consonant in such common words as *non* and *com-* and final *m* in certain much used combinations, to change final *b* to *m* before *m*, to drop *c* in the formula in hoc titulo, to drop the dental in the ending *nt* before a consonant or at the end of a sentence, and to insert a prosthetic *i* (or *e*) after a consonant and before *sp*, *sc*, *sm*, *st*, and *s*.

FRANK FROST ABBOTT.

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY.

sonant assimilation are the most infrequent and the soonest given up. Thus, in the matter of consonant assimilation, the partial assimilation of a nasal to a following mute, especially a labial, as in *τὰμ πόλιν*, is very common in all dialects down to a late period and sometimes observed even in loose combinations, but examples like *τὸλ λόγον, τοὺν νόμους*, etc., are comparatively infrequent and practically restricted to early inscriptions. . . . There is no consistency in the spelling, even as regards the milder changes, combined and uncombined forms often standing side by side in the same inscription". Cf. p. 75 ff. and Smyth's *Sounds and Inflections of the Greek Dialects*, § 411.

V.—SOBRIQUET AND STEM.

I. COMPOSITION AND SUFFIXATION: $\check{\delta}k^w$ - 'eye', $\check{a}no$ - 'face'. The preconceived idea of suffixation has often made for blindness. But we now generally recognize that Lat. *ferōx* and *atrōx* are compounds with the posterius $\check{\delta}k^w$ - 'looking, seeing; eye'; and that, even though the sense of the posterius is quite in the way of vanishing; cf. also *velox celox* (see § 2; and cf. Kretschmer, Einl., p. 160). The same posterius is quite transparent in Greek $\omega\pi(o)$ - in words like $\omicron\iota\nu\omega\psi$ ($\omicron\iota\nu\acute{\omega}\psi$, $\omicron\iota\nu\omega\acute{\pi}\acute{o}\varsigma$), $\gamma\omicron\rho\gamma\acute{\omega}\psi$ ($\gamma\omicron\rho\gamma\omega\acute{\pi}\acute{o}\varsigma$), $\pi\alpha\rho\theta\epsilon\nu\omega\acute{\pi}\acute{o}\varsigma$ and, with adverbial prius, in $\tau\eta\lambda\omega\acute{\pi}\acute{o}\varsigma$ 'far-seen > distant'. Like *ferus*: *ferox* is $\delta\epsilon\iota\nu\acute{o}\varsigma$: $\delta\epsilon\iota\nu\acute{\omega}\psi$ ($\delta\epsilon\iota\nu\omega\acute{\pi}\acute{o}\varsigma$), and the evanescence of the posterius is even greater in Hom. $\sigma\tau\epsilon\iota\nu\omega\acute{\pi}\acute{o}\varsigma$: $\sigma\tau\epsilon\iota\nu\acute{o}\varsigma$ (cf. $\epsilon\ddot{\upsilon}\rho\omega\acute{\pi}\acute{o}\varsigma$, $\kappa\omicron\iota\lambda\omega\acute{\pi}\acute{o}\varsigma$). Again, many scholars recognize in $\pi\rho\text{-}\acute{a}\nu\acute{\eta}\varsigma$ $\pi\rho\sigma\eta\gamma\acute{\eta}\varsigma$ $\acute{a}\pi\eta\gamma\acute{\eta}\varsigma$ a posterius $\acute{a}nes$:- Skr. $\acute{a}n\acute{a}$ - 'face',¹ and so they ought, cf. Lat. *prōnus* (<*pro-ānos*). Further note Skr. *sam-ānā-s* 'similis' (and almost 'aequos') <'uno-ore' (= *sam-ānana*):- Lat. (*s*)*m-ānos* 'aequos > benignus'; *imm-āni-s* 'atrox' (prius *ismo*:- Skr. *iṣmīn*- 'rapidus; turbulentus', see IF. 26, 41): $\acute{a}\iota\acute{a}\nu\acute{\eta}\varsigma$ 'atrox' (prius $\acute{a}\iota\sigma\omicron$:- Av. $\acute{a}\acute{z}ša\text{-}sa$ -² 'petens, adoriens'); $\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\acute{a}\nu\acute{o}\varsigma$ (used of cloth), from $\epsilon s(w)$ -(: $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\acute{o}\varsigma$ 'bonus') + $\acute{a}no$ - = 'bona-facie'. Skr. *sahasānā-s* (1), with evanescent posterius, amounts to a long form of *śāhas* 'violentus' and *arṣasānās*³ (2) 'iniuriosus' belongs with

¹ Boisacq's objection that \acute{a} is "gunated" (he means vriddhi) \acute{a} is puerile. What is \acute{a} in *ambāges*, pray? His defense of the complicated derivation of $\acute{a}\nu\acute{\eta}\varsigma$ from $\acute{a}nes$ - has no other purpose than to find an etymon for Goth. *ansts* 'gnadengabe'—which he ought to look for in Lat. <*h*>*onos* (with <*h*> as in <*h*>*umerus*), in the plural = 'gifts of honor' and *honestus*; also in $\delta\upsilon\iota\text{-}\nu\eta\text{-}\mu\iota$ (not $\delta\text{-}\nu\iota\text{-}\nu\eta\mu\iota$), as Uhlenbeck has seen.

² IE. $\acute{a}is\acute{o}\check{s}\hat{k}(h)o$ -, in Lat. *aeruscator* 'mendicus impudens', see CQ. 9, 111, where *u* is wrongly explained as original.

³ Macdonnell, Ved. Gr. § 527, lists twelve other such forms as *s-aor.* participles. If we bear in mind that *śāhas* 'violens' also means (as a noun) 'vis', we find for over half of our list nouns in *as*, e. g. (3) $\acute{o}has$ 'expectatio', (4) *jrāyas* 'extensio, spatium', (5) *nāmas* 'honor', (6)

**arças* 'iniuria'. Has *véos* a similar long form in *ve-avías* (posterius **āniyā-* like Skr. *āsiya-m*: Lat. *ōs* 'mouth, face')? cf. Skr. *kalyāṇī* (fem.) = 'lovely': *kalya-s*, *καλός* (on *ṇ* see Wackernagel, ai. gr. I, § 173).

2. There is another group of *-āna-* compounds in the Rig-Veda, the analysis of which yields astounding results. Of the proper names, omitting *Āpnavāna-s* with its obscure prius, *Cyāv-āna-s* (one raised from the dead by the Aṣvins) and *Cyāvat-āna-s* seem to mean 'mobili-ore', and the priora *cyó-* and *cyāvat-* are either adjective and participial (Grundriss, 2. I, § 313 γ) or *cyó-* is an imperative (ibid., 2. I. 64), and *cyāvat-* a transitive participle governing the posterius (ibid. γ). Of the mere adjectives, *tākav-ānas* 'velox' serves as a long form to *tāku-*; *vāsav-āna-s* 'dives' to *vāsu-* 'benignus' (*vāsu-* also = 'opes', cf. *optimus*); *bhīgav-āna-s* 'splendidus' to *Bhīgu-* 'Splendens'. Latin *Dī-āna*, the moon goddess, may be from *dīyo-āno-* 'of shining face' or, if Varro's *Divi-āna-* is not an invention, from *divi-yāna-* 'in caelo iens', cf. Skr. *divi-gamana-s* 'planet.'

3. But it is from the proper name *Pṛthav-ānas* that we can derive most instruction, and I will make bold to say at the beginning, but deprecating any charge of insolence, that I do not write for readers who, on account of looking at the forest, refuse to look at the trees. To learn, we must seize the individual thing that seems to be true and if, tested with and by other things of its kind, it still rings true, true it must be. So I will start from the truth that seems to glare from the proper name,

Pṛthav-āna-s. *Vocative origin of sobriquet compounds.*

4. The vocative *Pṛthav Āna* = (O) Broad Face. Its prius, *pṛthav*,¹ is the legitimate prevocalic samdhi form of *pṛtho*,

bhiyás 'fear', (7) *rābhas* 'vis', (8) *śāvas* 'vis'. For the others, *-as* nouns, though not of record, are perfectly legitimate formations; and *ṛñjas-ānā-s* 'celer' is no less apt to contain *-āna-* 'face' than Lat. *velox* to contain *-ōkw-*. For *yama-sānās* 'reined up', I can but think we have a compound of *yāma-* 'rein' + *sāna-s* 'vinctus' (: *Vsā*, in infin. *sātum*).

¹ The objection that in secondary derivation before vowel suffixes *u* stems show *av* in Sanskrit will not lie. If we may not claim the spread of *av* from cases like *Pṛthav-ānas* and *tākav-ānas* (§ 2), still in derivatives like *hanaviya-* 'genuinus' (spelled *hanavyā-*), the stem *hanavi-*

vocative to *pṛthú-s* 'broad' (see Whitney, Gr². § 134, a); the second vocative *āna* is properly enclitic (ibid. § 314, d). The vocative *Pṛthavāna*, after being used as a nominative (cf. Lat. *Jū-piter* and its likes), picked up the nominative -s; and thence *pṛthav-* was carried through the paradigm. Starting from a case like *Pṛthav-āna-s*, where the vocative prius has the look of being an inexpugnable fact, we may infer that such compounds as *ugrā-bāhu-s* 'stout-armed' will also have started as *úgra-bāho* (O) Stout Arm; and will contain in their *ā* (< o) an IE. -e, deflected in the post tonic syllable to IE. o. The final accentuation of *ugrābāhu-* will be due to uncompounded *ugrām bāhúm* (acc.), cf. *urúh kákṣah* 'Broad Shoulder', to be cited presently; Lat. *os durum* (Terence, Eun. 806).

5. The notion that the Indo-European proper name represents a predominant early type of compound has often been advanced. As soon as we let such sobriquet compounds start in the vocative, where it seems that they certainly must have started, the figment of the composition stem or pre-flexional word, or *casus indefinitus* (!) in -o yields to the sane conviction that the o-stem, for all its wide subsequent development in composition, originated in a genuine and isolable word form, viz. the vocative in -e (deflected to -o). As for the typical name Broad Face (Latine, Bronze Beard), we have somehow failed¹ adequately to realize its actual vitality in our own tongue; in "Grandaddy Long Legs"; in our Texas sobriquet of "Big Foot Wallace"; in "Flat Head Mountain"; in "Faint heart ne'er won fair lady"; in Shakespeare's vocative instance, "O you hard hearts, you cruel men of Rome". This style of nomenclature has also been pointed out in the Ríg Veda, as in *urúh kákṣah . . . gāngyāh* 'Latus Humerus

will lend itself to explanation as a locative (v. Macdonnell, Ved. Gr., § 296), cf. Lith. *danguje-jis* 'heavenly' from loc. *dangujè* (ex. ap. Brugmann, Gr. 2. 1, § 66, 3). [I now realize that in Homeric *ῥαυά-πος* (and *ῥαυά-ῆς*?) we have a vocative prius, while in (voc.) *ἰχθῦν* *ῖ* may come from *ῖν*. So *ῥαυα-* comes from voc. *ῖν-ῥαυ*, cf. Skr. nom. *tanū-s*, allocated to the feminine; note *ῖ* in *ἰχθυῖν*. Likewise *ῥαυάς* is from *ῖν-ῥαυ* < o >; cf. the suffix -*ῥω*-, set up by Brugmann-Thumb, p. 213².]

¹ But now cf. W. Petersen in IF. 34, 262, § 14. with a splendid list of examples.

.. Gangeticus', (see Wackernagel, ai. Gram. II, 1, § 112 b, 3). We need not involve our explanation in the *pars pro toto* figure: *barefoot*, *hard heart*, and the like are more primitive than rhetoric;¹ nor limit it to names of persons (cf. Flat Head, name of a mountain).

6. A word may be added on the rôle of the nominative in making compounds. In RV. I. 32. 6 d, the problematic *rujānās* was long ago correctly interpreted for the thought by Professor Bloomfield. Morphologically, I would compare Eng. *hump-back* and Germ. *spaltfuss*, analyzing as *rujā* 'cleft' (: *ῥώξ*² < IE. *w̥g-* | *rug-*, see Grundriss I § 539, 3) + *nās* (: Lat. *nāres*) 'nose' (or + *ānes-* 'face', § 1). Leaving out *rujānāh*, our pada states that "Indra's enemy was crushed to pieces", and we may insert *rujānās* parenthetically as "a cleft his nose".³ In *ūrdhva* <*s*> *ānā-s* (hapax in a line with *aṛṣasānā-s*,

¹ An overwhelming number of sobriquet compounds, exhibiting in the posterius the name of a part of the body, might doubtless be turned up in the various tongues, such words as Av. *darəgō-bāzu-* long-arm(ed), -*angušta-* 'long-thumbed', -*gava-* 'longi-manus'; *pərəθu-varah-* 'broad-chested', -*safa-* 'broad-hoofed', -*sraoni-* 'broad-hipped'. In Greek we have like compounds in -*χειρ* (κρατερό-χειρ), -*πους* (κραταίπους), -*φρην* (ταλαίφρων). As for the -*αι* of ταλαίφρων (vocative) and the -*α* of *τάλαφρων* 'stout-heart', they furnish evidence of an Indo-European vocative to -*ā* stems in -*αι* | -*ᾱ*; the former due before consonants, the latter before vowels, but confused. This vocative prius we have in κλυται-μήστρα = (O) Famous Contriver; perhaps in μυαί-φονε = (O) Pollution, (O) murderer |; in κραταί-πους = (O) hard foot (κραται- a vocative to the <? nom. masc. > adverbial form *κάρτα* ?); in ταλασί-φρων the prius will be the vocative feminine of a participle **t̥l̥l-nt-i* 'ferens'. The explanations of the handbooks, as of κραται- from κραταιός and the like, are entirely artificial and have not been made even algebraically convincing.

² The river *rujānā* mentioned by the commentator on this passage may well have existed, cf. ἀπο-ρρώξ, of a branch of the Styx.

³ We also have in Sanskrit *ṛjū-nas-* = (O) Straight Nose, compounded of the -*ū* vocative **ṛju* (*ū* lengthened in composition to avoid the rhythmic succession *u u u*) + the vocative *nas*; cf. in Greek Σιλᾶ-νός (-*νο-*: Skr. fem. *nās-* 'nose': Skr. -*dā-*:-*dās-*; cf. the *o*-stem ἄγγελος: Skr. *āṅgirās*, *es*-stem; and Skr. compounds with posterius in -*stha-s*: *sthā-s*; also Wackernagel, ai. gram. II. 1, p. 96 a). Not Solmsen in IF. 30, 13, but Fay in CR. 18, 208, was the first to define Σιλᾶνός by Snub-nose. If in the name of this Bacchic deity we are to recognize a derivative from Thracian *ξίλα* 'wine' (Kretschmer, Glotta, IV. 351 sq.), he must owe his traditional facial character to what appeared to be the meaning of his name, in short to "Disease of Language."

and so liable to explanation, <s> and all, by momentaneous irradiation), the <s> may also imply a parenthesis ("upwards <was> his face"); or -āna- may have stood to ūrdhvās in a relation of "specification" (in Greek the accusative; the IE. instrumental, see Grundriss, 2. 2. p. 543 f.). Out of the instrumental of attendant circumstance, as e. g. in Latin mulier formā honestā, the possessive (Bahuvrihi) type of compound might also have developed; cf. in reversed order Skr. jānv-āknā- (with) 'knee-bent'. The two lines of development would have converged. The course of the development from the sobriquet compound can be very simply comprehended by looking at a few Sanskrit compounds with prius ugrā-: (1) ugrā-bāhu- Strong Arm; (2) ugra-dhanvan- 'strong-bowed', ugrā-yudha- 'strong-weaponed'; (3) ugrā-sena- 'strong-armed', ugrā-vīra- 'strong-heroed', ugrā-putra- 'strong-sonned'; (4) ugratejas- 'strong-energied'.

7. In the Avesta, the prius of similar compounds is often in the nominative: does that point to the fact that the nominative, and not the vocative, was the generalized form, at least in a-stems? For Sanskrit ugrā-bāhus, the vocative ugra bāho has dictated the form of the prius; but in the Avesta we have in darāgo-bāzu- the type of the Skr. nominative ugró bāhú-s (like urúh kakšáh, § 5).

8. The arguments advanced above seem to me to have made it abundantly probable that the non-isolable stem which serves as the prius of composition originated in the vocative—or also to a much less degree in some other case form—of a sobriquet group. If this be true, while the developed facts of grammar as regards composition remain untouched, our conception of the fabric of the word must be profoundly modified. Thus we may no longer speak of the vocative of the o and ā declensions as the unmodified stem, but say contrariwise that the stem is the vocative. And the source of the vocative -ē seems a thing we can come upon. As the augment, ē- is an almost isolable word, and meant 'there'! (? or 'here'; cf. Drewitt, CQ. VI, 44 sq.; ἐ-θέλω). The same exclamatory adverb -ē makes an ideal vocative indicator, as anybody knows who has ever sung out "you-there!" to the man of unknown name whose attention is wanted quickly from the next tennis court. This ē (in the long form ē) is also used as a preposition; and when

Brugmann (Gr. 2. 2. § 634) explains it as instrumental of the demonstrative stem *e* he is confounding an original local adverb (without case) with that much subsequent thing a case form¹: and it really is this *-ē* that becomes the casual suffix of the Indo-Iranian instrumental in *-ā*. In the pair *ὀψέ* | *ὀψι* the same *-ē* competes with *-i* (cf. *ἔψι*) as an adverb determinant.—For the identification of vocative *ē* with *-ē* in the imperative see e. g. AJPh. 15, 413; and on *ei* 'there'! Bull. Univ. Texas, no. 263, § 99 sq. On *-ē*¹ as the instrumental case ending cf. AJPh. 37, 167²; as the locative, 170, § 28.

EDWIN W. FAY.

UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS, Nov. 8, 1915.

¹ He who thinks that IE. *ē* 'there' is a merely glottogonic inference and instrum. *ē* something less glottogonic—has never thought!

ADDENDA.

§ 1. The Latin pair *vetus*: *veter-ānus* conforms precisely with the type of Skr. *sāhas*:- *sahas-ānā*.

§ 1, fn. 3. Cf. *ṛṣi-śāṇa*- (RV.), attached to a seer.

P. 85, fn. 1. In the Vedic proper names and epithets *Hāray-āṇa*-, Tawny Face (quasi Atrox); *Tūrvay-āṇa*-, Mighty Face (quasi Ferox); and *Āhray-āṇa*-, Unabashed Face, *ay* in the priora is the samdhi form of the *e* (= IE. *ei/oi*) vocative of *hāri*- *tūrvī*- *ā-hri*-.

§ 8. Thus Lat. *puer-e* may be conceived as like our outcry "boy there!"

REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

Greek and Roman Mythology. By WM. SHERWOOD FOX.
Pp. lxii and 354; plates LXIII; illustrations in text 11.
Boston, 1916. \$6.00 net.

This is the first of twelve volumes on the Mythology of All Races, an undertaking on a comprehensive plan but not intended to take the place of special dictionaries, nor to make detailed study of comparative mythology nor, primarily, to illustrate art and archæology. A thirteenth volume will contain a general index.

This volume by Professor Fox, granted the purpose of the author—with which there is no reason to quarrel,—is admirably executed. Whatever criticism may be suggested in his handling of the voluminous material accumulated for Greek Mythology will be mainly superficial or, occasionally, a question of proportion, or due to some personal equation on the part of a critic.

The author states (p. xxi) that his purpose is "to present and interpret a number of typical myths of Greece and Rome as vehicles of religious thought; that is to say, in the discharge of their original function". This precludes any demand for encyclopaedic data on all details of all myths. His illustration both of literature and of art is incidental and secondary. Here and there some readers will wish that space occupied with the rehearsal of some familiar story could have been matched with more details of a less familiar one. We might, for example, desire more about Charon; yet even here the author inserts,¹ in notes and appendix, suggestive interpretation doubtless new to many readers.

In his Introduction (pp. lvii–lix) Professor Fox gives a satisfactory synopsis of eleven "Methods of Interpreting Myths" with a fuller explanation of his own method and his purpose, above cited.

¹ Perhaps it might not be too much of a "sop to Cerberus" nor too wide an incursion into the domain of comparative literature if the interesting paragraph (Appendix, p. 314) on the Modern Greek Charondas as Lord of the Dead and on the interlocking functions of Charon, Hermes, and Hades, were supplemented with the denaturalizing of Yama in Sanscrit. In the Rig-Veda Yama, the not unkindly *ψυχοπομπός*, is the first to find out for men the ancient pathway to the refuge "where long ago our fathers have gone onward", while the later Mahabharata knows him only as the cruel, blood-red god of death.

Throughout the book the reader is conscious of deliberate and necessary repression, not of any inadvertence. We are not left in doubt, for example, as to the underlying-mortgage indebtedness to totemism and cult, (cf. pp. xliii-xlvi; 183-185; 215-221; 287) but the author realizes that, after all, his business is not with the inchoate and primitive but with the Greek itself. We are concerned with the emergence out of animism into deism. He refuses to muddy the pool by a continual stirring of the sediment albeit he, and we, may be conscious that the clear water, here and there, is stained to darker colours by the rotting leaves and snaky slime below. This, indeed, gives clarity to his treatment of the lowlier aspects of Greek religion as in the chapter on: "The Lesser Gods of Water, Wind and Wild", where he braves, as elsewhere, the possible criticism of more myopic scholarship and quotes, as an illuminating vignette, from Moody's *Fire-Bringer*: "The woven sounds | Of small and multitudinous lives" that people "the grasses and the pools with joy".

The treatment of the Greek myths is arranged in two parts: Part I. Myths of the Beginning, the Heroes, and the After-world—in nine chapters, including three chapters handling topographically, as is convenient, the Peloponnesus, the Northern Mainland, Crete, and Attica; Part II contains fourteen chapters on the Greek Gods, including The Greater Gods, the Lesser Gods, and Abstract Divinities.

To analyse in detail the advantages of this orderly arrangement is out of the question, but the actual treatment is replete with suggestiveness, chapter by chapter. The following notes, taken almost at random, may illustrate. The parvenu Zeus and his party on Olympus were the "first properly to be called gods (p. 8)". Their elder rivals made a last stand farther south on Mount Othrys against—(May we not assume?)—the encroachments of the Achæan invasion. So, in connection with Prometheus (p. 13) it is well to be reminded that not until the fifth century B. C. did the belief that man was shaped from clay become general. With this also compare his equation (p. 21) of "*cherchez la femme*" with the story of Pandora. "The first *woman* was always believed to be the handiwork of gods." Hesiod's interruption of the sequence of the Ages of the Metals by the intrusive Age of Heroes is "clumsy" (p. 18). Ovid does better with his version, where the flood of Deucalion gives us a convenient "*Schwamm darüber*", and in the lively stones which repeople a drowned world we are more at liberty to identify the Men of Stone, ready for a fresh start.

Argos by its physical situation "lay all Danaë" to external influences (if we may mutilate the poet's phrase) and Mr. Fox suggests neatly in an opening paragraph the contact with the

Aegeans while keeping unhampered his proper treatment of the "nucleus of native Argive myth".

In like manner the brief introduction to Attica puts the reader in a receptive condition to realize, *inter alia*, why Theseus developed as a replica to Heracles. "The body of Attic myth is a relatively late creation. . . . There is a great gulf, as yet only precariously bridged, between the historical cults of Attike and the earliest period of which we have any religious remains" (p. 66).

In this connection the full and admirable treatment (Chapters VII and VIII) of "The Voyage of the Argo" and "The Tale of Troy" (including the setting from the Earlier Cyclic poets to the Telegonia) make the student of literature wish for (though he cannot demand) a pronouncement on puzzling readjustments involved in a belief that the Argonautic expedition is the actual progenitor of the Odyssey as being a disingenuous palimpsest using, without erasing, some of the original lines.

In Part II Professor Fox obtains his list of "The Greater Gods" by combining the Homeric, Athenian, and Olympian systems, omitting from the latter Cronus, Rhea, Alpheus, and the Charites. Thanks to his repression of the incidental and his emphasis on the vital, the individual gods, greater and lesser, emerge in clearer form to the reader.

Zeus, he tells us on p. 161, was so much "the most ethical of all the gods of the pantheon, that he almost shrank the Greek polytheism to monotheism. . . . While Zeus was the bringer of evil as well as of good into the life of men, occasionally the Greeks rose to the noble idea that he was above all that was evil". Inasmuch as other writers on Greek religion sometimes fail to emphasize this we might wish that our author had found space to add that this conception is urged by Aeschylus, long before Plato, especially as he presently refers to Aeschylus as partly hampered by the post-Homeric doctrine of the Three Fates. For example, in the *Agamemnon* (176 ff.), in his *πάθος—μάθος*, there is outlined a Zeus, omniscient, potent, and benevolent, educing good from evil:

Zeus it was who built for mortals
Highway unto Wisdom's portals
When he made the law abide:
Who would *know* must *woe* betide.

The treatment of Hera is particularly suggestive. Athena, likewise, is treated with clarity and we are especially grateful for the substitution (Plate XL) of a more worshipful Virgin for the usual stumpy caricature (as we are fain to believe) of the famous Athena Parthenos. On this (Frankfort) figure the

warrior helmet seems none too oppressive a weight for the inventive brain of the self-possessed maiden.

The chapter on Artemis skilfully presents her motley interests in maieutic, magic, *materia medica*, as well as her more familiar menagerie. It is a far cry from the hybrid Great Mother to the chaste huntress, but Mr. Fox is frank enough to hint that her "almost Pharisaic patronage of the precocious Hippolytus" and other similar data were "comparatively late attempts to cloak an originally unmoral character". However that may be, we are glad to have the central idea of our "Lady of the Beasts" represented by the lovely and none too familiar Munich statue (Plate XLII) with its reminder of Anacreon's beautiful hymn. As to her own inoculation against Eros we are willing to accept Lucian's homœopathic explanation: ἰδιὸν τινα ἔρωτα ἐρᾷ.

The author's judicious caution in dealing with doubtful etymologies may be illustrated by his reference to Amphitrite—the earth-encompassing sea (p. 214): "We can merely divine, rather than prove, that (her name) refers to this feature of her nature". On the other hand the derivation (p. 221) of Lenaea from λῆναι as the "feast of wild women" may seem like an *hysteron proteron* to some who have trod only the familiar ληνός.

Professor Fox's method of treating individual divinities may be illustrated by his sub-topics on Dionysus. 1. The Origin and Name of Dionysus; 2. Dionysus in Homer; 3. Birth of Dionysus; 4. The Functions and Cult of Dionysus; 5. Dionysus in Art; 6. Myths of Alexander the Great. Not a few readers will find the picture of the wine-god incised with firmer lines after reading this orderly and suggestive sketch. Naturally he does not treat all divinities under so many headings, but categories 1 and 5 are more or less constant and it is of importance, in seeking to understand the development of Greek religion, to be told that Dionysus is an "outlander" and Demeter an Hellenic goddess. Incidentally, Demeter as mother of Plutus, and Plutus the son of Eirene would involve the pacifist equation: Peace = the Giver of Grain.

To Part III, "The Mythology of Ancient Italy", only twenty-one pages are allotted and this may seem strange to critics who form a judgment from the Table of Contents. In addition, however, to obvious inclusion of much Greek material in Latin literature and the ready-made identifications of similar attributes, the author, in explaining the dearth of Roman myth (p. 287-88) emphasizes a real dissimilarity between the two peoples. "The mind of the Italian was not naturally curious and speculative, whence, since speculation is the motive power behind myth, the output of Italic myth was very small, and at the same

time well-nigh barren of lively fancy. . . . Only the barest few of the *numina* did he (the Roman) endue with the many-coloured coat of personality; all others he left in the plain, rustic garb of functional spirits of nature. . . . While the Greek mind easily and naturally emerged from animism into deism, the Roman found the utmost difficulty."

The Italic matter actually given is, however, so good that we wish that it might have been expanded—for example, the hints at Etruscan mythology; the Italic gods Consus, Ops, Faunus, etc.; the Momentary and Departmental gods; the equations and dissimilarities of Greek and Roman gods. Thus of Fortuna he says (p. 295): "Her Greek counterpart was Tyche, rarely Moira". In Appendix II is contained: "Survivals of Divinities and Myths of the Etruscans and Romans in Romagnola".

The sixty-three plate illustrations are generally exceedingly good and clear—those from vase paintings perhaps more satisfying than some few of the statuary. The accompanying descriptions are usually very full. The choice of illustrations shows careful consideration, laying under contribution a wide range of less familiar material, as already indicated. One mechanical defect, doubtless forced on the author by the procrustean habits of publishers, is that some of the plates are far removed from the text that they illustrate and are without cross-reference in the text to warn the reader that he is losing, as he reads, an illuminating illustration. Thus the Madrid Athena (three views) is set at p. 14 instead of illustrating pp. 170-173.

In the present strained condition of interlinguistic comity the author is, of course, well within his rights in using the current transliteration of the original Greek and Latin spelling, although we sincerely deprecate this growing dislocation of English usage as being unnecessary for scholars and a stumbling-block to the non-professional reader. Mr. Fox concedes a little to usage long naturalized in English and writes, for example, Apollo and Achilles. By the same act of amnesty Attike, Delphoi and various others might well have retained their English uniform.

We have noted only the following misprints: p. xxxviii, near end, "3. Mystic Rite at Eleusis" is an anticipation of the next line; p. 55 the apostrophe is transposed (and spelling abbreviated) in Kallirrhoe's; at p. 212, on fly-leaf explanatory of Plate XLVII, read p. 6 for "p. 7"; on p. 219 *olvos* is aspirated.

The book closes with a generous bibliography of 18 pages. As an antidote for M. Bérard's theory of Phaeacia there might be added: P. Champault, *Phéniciens et Grecs en Italie, d'après l'Odyssée*, Paris, 1906.

A special index for this volume, unfortunately excluded by the general plan, would have enhanced its usefulness; even the full Table of Contents is not adequate for ready reference and

Vol. XIII, when completed, will not be under the same cover.

But even a reviewer, committed in some sort to microscopic criticism, can only feel grateful to the author's skilful hermeneutic for, like Hermes in the Homeric Hymn, Mr. Fox unlocks the treasure and illustrates

Of the bright Gods "the birth
Of the bright Gods and the dark desert Earth."

FRANCIS G. ALLINSON.

BROWN UNIVERSITY.

Shaksperean Studies. By Members of the Department of English and Comparative Literature in Columbia University. Edited by BRANDER MATTHEWS and ASHLEY HORACE THORNDIKE, New York: Columbia University Press, 1916. 452 pp.

This volume of essays by the professors of a single department in a single university is one of the most noteworthy productions occasioned by the Shakspeare tercentenary. The book is large and illuminative, but it lays no claim to being exhaustive or systematic. As the prefatory note to the work states, "no effort has been made to conform the essays to a general plan or to harmonize conflicting opinions". The productions thus rather loosely brought together are, for the most part, fairly short and general; the volume contains no index, no bibliography, and only an occasional footnote; and the majority of the essays, instead of being composed by specialists in Elizabethan literature, are written by men who have made their reputations as students of such subjects as American literature, composition, and Anglo-Saxon.

Obviously the intention of the editors was to bring together a group of papers that would be readable and suggestive rather than scholarly, as the term is usually understood; hence the reader who consults Shaksperean Studies with the purpose of finding new "facts" about Shakspeare or of studying the detailed solution of specific problems will be disappointed, but he who wishes to read a series of highly interesting discussions of a large number of subjects connected with the great dramatist and his art will welcome the book edited by Professors Matthews and Thorndike. That the subjects treated in the eighteen papers are as varied as they are interesting, is obvious, for matters are handled so widely different as Elizabethan pronunciation and the directions for extracting the boyish qualities in Shakspeare's plays for enthusiastic presentation by present-day preparatory students. On the basis of subject-matter the

eighteen studies may be roughly classified as follows: five deal with Shakspeare's treatment of his sources; three are character studies; two are really running discussions of specific types of Shaksperian criticism; two, by professors in Teachers College, discuss Shakspeare in our modern schools; and one paper deals with each of the following topics: Shakspeare's pronunciation, the text of *Pericles*, Shaksperian stage traditions, the history play, New York productions of *Midsummer Night's Dream*, Shakspeare's comments on his art.

It is obviously impossible to discuss here each of the eighteen essays contained in the volume. A few, however, deserve especial mention. Professor Matthews' *Shaksperian Stage Traditions* is unusually interesting and suggestive in its plea that the large number of gestures and stage-business interpretative of various passages in Shakspeare's plays—the contributions, for the most part, of generations of actors and stage managers—be preserved by some future editor of Shakspeare, just as Regnier in his edition of Molière's *Tartuffe* has set down in connection with the dialogue the best of the stage traditions preserved by the *Comédie Française*. The industrious student could no doubt trace at least a few of these traditions back to the very time of Shakspeare himself. Such would be of vital importance, especially to the student, for, after all, no matter how much some of Shakspeare's creatures have been transformed as the result of changes in morals and ways of thinking, the present-day scholar is chiefly interested in finding out, if possible, how such characters as Shylock and Hamlet and Henry V were acted and understood in the Elizabethan period.

Professor Brewster's *The Restoration of Shakspeare's Personality* is an acute discussion of the dangers encountered by the critic who attempts to reconstruct Shakspeare the man out of materials contained in his poems and plays. The paper is full of common sense, but the style will possibly irritate certain present-day champions of the early Victorians and of the German "discoverers" of Shakspeare.

Professor Lawrence's *The Love Story in Troilus and Cressida* will probably appeal to some as being the most suggestive paper in the series, although it is really a more detailed treatment of one point brought out in two recent studies by Professor J. S. P. Tatlock—*The Siege of Troy in Elizabethan Literature*, Especially in Shakespeare and Heywood (P. M. L. A., Dec., 1915) and *The Chief Problem in Shakespeare* (*Sewanee Review*, April, 1916). These three papers should be read together, for they offer by far the most satisfactory attempt that has yet been made to solve what has been called the "chief problem in the greatest body of poetry in the world". *Troilus and Cressida*, instead of being a burlesque of Homer, a satire of rival poets, or the pessimistic performance of a man disappointed in

love or something else, is a play dealing in a realistic and conventional manner with the Trojan story at a time when the Homeric heroes were not especially venerated and when Pandarus and Cressida, whose conduct was in accord with the best usage advocated by the medieval system of courtly love, had degraded into wantons in consequence of a change in the standards of morality. Finally Professor Cunliffe's explanation of the widely different interpretations of the character of Henry V offered by the Elizabethan and our own age should be read as another instance of the necessity of knowing the temper and ideals of the Elizabethan period before attempting to discuss Shakspeare's characters; and Shakspeare as a Debtor and The Question of Shakspeare's Pronunciation, by Professors Thorndike and Ayres respectively, while necessarily brief and general, are obviously written by men who have a large and intimate knowledge of their subjects.

As would be expected in a book like Shaksperian Studies, some of the papers are not so satisfactory. Two or three are a trifle thin, and it is difficult to see just how A Note On the History Play, interesting as it may be in itself, can be classified as a "Shaksperian study". In the opinion of the reviewer, the first part of Reality and Inconsistency in Shakspeare's Characters could well be condensed; the extravagant praise of Julius Caesar in the essay dealing with the sources of that play will no doubt impress some as being the work of a writer who is unduly saturated with modern realism in his discussion of the highly conventional and poetic drama of the Elizabethan period; and the essay entitled Shakspeare on His Art seems to be an extensive tabulation that really arrives at no definite and noteworthy conclusion.

Again, the book as a whole would have been improved by a little more scholarly attention to details. A few references are vague and incomplete (pp. 320-21), the reader is never told the date of the first American edition of Shakspeare (cf. p. 348), the form *Shakspeare* is used even in titles of books and articles whose authors employed the longer form *Shakespeare*—a case of consistency which may not be acceptable to some of the authors concerned, and which certainly will not meet the approval of the author of *The Name of William Shakespeare* (Philadelphia, 1906). Possibly, too, some of the more squeamish scholars may object to the quotations (pp. 67, 75) from the Everyman editions of Coleridge and Hazlitt.

In addition to its subject-matter, Shaksperian Studies is noteworthy from another point of view. With the exception of a similar series of studies got out by the Department of English at the University of Wisconsin, it is, so far as I know, the only volume published by members of a single English or American university as a part of the Shakspeare tercentenary. That such

a satisfactory collection of essays was produced by the professors of one department in one institution is not only a striking testimonial of the competency of that department, but is significant evidence of the important position which Shakspeare occupies in the educational system of our best universities.

T. S. GRAVES.

TRINITY COLLEGE, N. C.

Une statistique de locaux affectés à l'habitation dans la Rome impériale, by M. EDOUARD CUQ. Mémoires de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, Tome XL, 1915.

Nothing that M. Édouard Cuq says can pass unnoticed. In the present work he devotes 61 pages to a question which Roman topographers have argued and pondered over, but for which no better answers have been forthcoming than those given by Preller and by Richter. The question turns on the meaning of the word *insula* as used in that interesting document called the Notitia (c. 334 A. D.) or Curiosum urbis Romae regionum XIV (c. 357 A. D.), from which calculations have been made as to the population of Rome in the time of Constantine.

The text reads—*Insulae per totam urbem XLVI.DCII, domus M.DCCXC*, which gives for the fourteen regions of Rome 46,602 *insulae*, and 1,790 *domus*. There is little discussion about the *domus*, it is the *insula* which needs interpretation. Dureau de la Malle first explained an *insula* as a *taberna*, then Preller guessed that it meant a room, and then Richter brought forward the theory that it meant a rented floor in a house, identifying *insula* with *coenaculum*. M. Cuq takes the citations from the Digest and the inscriptions which Richter uses to prove his contention, shows how they do not apply, and then demolishes his argument by the citations from Labeo, Papinian, and Gaius on *superficies solo cedit* which prove that Roman law knew no such thing as house ownership by floors.

The constructive part of M. Cuq's argument begins with page 27. He shows that the *insula* as interpreted in the XII Tables was, like an island, a house with an imprescriptible *ambitus* all about it; that it lost its insularity because of increasing land values as shown by the growth of the *jus projiciendi* and *jus oneris ferendi*; that many neighboring houses or houses with party-walls began in the last century of the Republic to come into the ownership of individuals like Crassus; and that in the early empire, although there is an exceptional use of the word *insula* as an annex to a *domus*, the *insula* became an apartment

house. The next step is to show that there was more than one apartment on a floor, and that each apartment had a separate stair or entrance. This M. Cuq does both from legal citations, and from actual houses existing in Pompeii and Ostia, and *συνουλῖαι* in Delos. The *insularius*, or *aedium custos*, of the time of Cicero, is next taken under consideration. It is shown that he had charge of the renting of the apartments, and the collection of rents, being given through his master or patron the legal right of *perclusio* in case of non-payment of rent. By the time of Nero the word *insularius* had come to mean the renter of an apartment, and this came to be the accepted use of the word as shown in an imperial rescript of the third century and in the Digest, where among other passages, the juriconsult Paul (D. I, 15, 3, 4) interprets the word *insularius* by *inquilinus*. The word *insula* in the third century came to have two meanings, that of an entire apartment house, or from a narrower administrative point of view, that of a single apartment.

The interdict *de migrando*, the right of *perclusio*, the action *de effusis et deiectis*, are enough to prove the restrictions put on *insularii*. But it is still necessary to show that a single apartment, an *insula*, is an administrative unit. Suetonius (*Divus Iulius*, 41) says: *Recensum populi nec more nec loco solito, sed vicatim per dominos insularum egit* (Italics are mine). Augustus made a change when he established the 14 administrative regions, and finally in 223 A. D. the matter of the census was put in charge of the *praefectus vigilum*. Statistics of the inhabitants of apartments were necessary to fix the *origo*, to apply the rule *actor sequitur forum rei*, to collect the tax on rents (*Suetonius*, Nero 44: *Inquilinos privatarum aedium atque insularum pensionem annuam repraesentare fisco (iussit)*), to fix properly the *ius liberorum*, and to dispense the *tesserae frumentariae*. Therefore the *praefectus vigilum* had to have on hand a list of all apartments for there were always questions coming up concerning the responsibility for fires, for non-payment of rents, for attempted dispossession or removal, and the *praetor urbanus* needed the same list of apartments to settle cases which arose from accidents resulting from things falling on passers-by from balconies or windows. In the registers of the magistrates therefore apartments were distinct administrative units.

M. Cuq has brought to the solution of this question of the *insulae* a fine array of legal and inscriptional evidence. He has overturned previous conflicting theories, and has built up a new theory which fits his foundations. Measured by preconceptions which have identified the *insulae* with the population of Rome, his theory would be of no use at all, but in his last paragraph M. Cuq says the numbers in the *Curiosum* can not be used to

calculate the population of Rome, for they are nothing but the administrative statistics of the police magistrates. Certainly it will be difficult to prove that statement untrue.

R. V. D. MAGOFFIN.

Il Codice Bresciano di Catullo—Osservazioni e Confronti (Estratto dagli Atti della Reale Accademia delle Scienze di Torino, vol. LI). By ETTORE STAMPINI. Turin, Bocca, 1916. Pp. 48.

One who has had the fortune, as I have had, to collate about 100 of the 120 known MSS of Catullus and to study collations of most of the others may be pardoned a little impatience, albeit sympathetic, at the scantiness of the material with which Stampini had to work in the treatise under discussion. With copious material at one's disposal many questions that seem very difficult find an easy solution. The only MS actually examined by Stampini was the Brescia MS. G and M were studied in the unsatisfactory published facsimiles, the other MSS were known only through the collations in various editions, notably that of Ellis, which is full of errors of omission and commission. Stampini knew only a part of the few published readings of R, which is really the key that unlocks the mysteries of the minor MSS. He might have found more in Hale's various articles and especially in my dissertation on the Identification of the MSS of Catullus Cited by Statius in his Edition of 1566 (1908). Nor apparently was any use made of Merrill's Catullus, which contains a good independent collation of O. But let it be said at once that despite these handicaps, Stampini has done remarkably well, though I can not agree with him in all things. The Brescia MS is one of the few that I did not myself collate, but I examined a collation of it. I recall that I considered it a close relative of Harleianus 2574 (Ellis' h). Stampini has made the same observation, and in fact calls the two MSS twins. But when Stampini goes farther and asserts that these two MSS have readings which are "good and certain and which are not found in other MSS", that their common parent had "an individuality of its own independent of O as well as of every other MS of Catullus", that there was a "tradition of the text independent of G and R as of O", I can not follow him. Such are in brief his chief conclusions. Let us examine a few details.

First of all it seems quite unnecessary to go into such detail as Stampini does in describing Br (as he calls the Brixianus),

especially in the matter of abbreviations. He is of course right in assuming that no inferences can be drawn from Ellis' apparatus about the abbreviations in *h*. What critical apparatus would pretend to reproduce faithfully all abbreviations of minor MSS? The statement that the importance of *D* has been exaggerated gives great satisfaction, though it would be better to say that it has no importance whatever. Stampini gives a list of 220 readings peculiar to *Br* and *h*. The list would of course be greatly reduced after a comparison with complete collations of all existing MSS. But as said above, I agree with Stampini in grouping the two MSS together. His suggestion that the common parent of the two is still in existence seems doubtful. I know of no MS that could qualify for the position. Though Stampini gives various lists of readings of *Br* to show that it agrees now with *O*, now with *G*, etc., I can not see that these prove his contention that *Br* and *h* belong to a tradition independent of *O*, *G* and *R*. The fact that *Br* and *h* at times agree with *O* against the other reported MSS is interesting, but probably shows merely that readings from *O* were transferred to some ancestor of *Br* and *h*. The similarity to *O* on the part of these two MSS was known to me and is not peculiar to them. I can not elaborate here on the relation of these two MSS to others.

Stampini expresses a profound conviction that when all the MSS of Catullus will be carefully studied confirmation will be found of the strong suspicion to which the examination of *Br* and *h* led him, that there exists a tradition of the text independent of *OGR*, though admitting that the present slight knowledge of *R* makes certainty impossible. On the other hand I should express the strong conviction, based on my study of practically all the existing MSS of Catullus, including *R*, that *Br* and *h* do not belong to an independent tradition, though admitting that there is a very remote possibility that they do. Stampini seems not to know that Hale has a complete set of collations of Catullus MSS (see *Cl. Phil.* 3.233); he does not even mention Hale's name, though he apparently attributes a high value to *R*, discovered by Hale.

B. L. ULLMAN.

UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH.

REPORTS.

REVUE DE PHILOLOGIE, Vol. XXXVIII (1914).

Observations sur l'emploi de l'infinitif historique (5-26). Georges Romain continues his studies on the infinitive (A. J. P. XXXV 346), noting only usage and manner of rendering. The historical infinitive always expresses a consequence, and depends on a previous proposition, express or implied. The author finds but one exception, Ter. Andr. 368-9, and here he suspects the text. The h. i. has an ingressive signification, expresses new ideas, is not equivalent to the historical present, as Kuehner says, nor the Greek aorist, as Jaenicke claims, nor the historical perfect, as Barbelenet says, nor the imperfect, as the wrongly interpreted Priscian passage (XVIII, 4, 48, p. 228 Keil) has been supposed to prove, but has no temporal signification, except as it represents the time of the verb of the expression on which it depends.

Un fragment sur papyrus de la chronique d'Hippolyte de Rome (27-31). D. Serruys identifies a papyrus published by Grenfell and Hunt in 1908 (Oxyr. Papyr. VI, p. 176, no. 870) as part of a *διαμερισμὸς γῆς* in the Chronicon of Hippolytos, and shows that his work had great vogue in the Orient.

Les prétoriens de Vitellius. Notes exégétiques sur plusieurs passages des Histoires de Tacite (32-75). Philippe Fabia comments on 8 passages from the *Historiae*. (1) II, 66-67: *Angebat-loquebantur*. Tacitus might better have written *victi exercitus* than *victarum legionum*, because Otho's army was partly legionary, partly pretorian. The pretorians were punished by Vitellius, not for their infidelity to Galba, but because of their fidelity to Otho. (2) II, 92-94; (3) III, 41; (4) III, 58; (5) III, 61-63; (6) III, 67-73, 78-85, IV, 1: Tacitus speaks of *Vitelliani*, *Vitellianus miles*, *miles Vitellii*, and once *Germanicae cohortes*, but never calls them pretorians. *Germani* not to be confused with *Germanici*. (7) III, 57, 76-77, 81, IV, 2; (8) IV, 46: *Praetorianam-retinenda erat*, three categories of applicants for pretorians under Vespasian. V. finally reduced them to nine cohorts, as under Augustus, by *honesta missio*, and *missio ignominiosa*, but *alii ob culpam*, *sed carptim ac singuli*. The article is a running commentary on the text, the views of Ritter and Valmaggi meeting frequent approbation or criticism.

Le texte de Polybe VI, 19, 2 et la durée du service militaire à Rome (76-80). E. Cavaignac, by a study of the number of citizens available for military service, reinforces the argument of Steinwender for keeping $\xi\xi$ in Polybius VI, 19, 2 for the number of years which citizens were obliged to serve as infantry.

Notes critiques sur les Bucoliques de Virgile (81-92). L. Havet thinks for reasons both stichometric and sense-making that a line has fallen out between 1, 68 and 1, 69, and proposes <Aspiciam? aut ego hyperboreo flavescere sole>. H. adds a commendatory letter from C. Jullian. In 3, 102 the author commends the explanation of Donatus of *his*, adding that *his* is not only the oldest Vergilian example of the nom. plu. of *hic*, but, according to his belief, the oldest example in classic poetry. 8, 17 and 30 show Vergil to have been inspired by two astral reminiscences which are incompatible with astronomical facts. 8, 50: Havet proposes a question mark at end of l. 49, a semi-colon after *puer*, and *sic* instead of *tu* in l. 50. 10, 1 should read *Extremum hunc*, Arethusa, mihi concede *laborum*.

Aesch. Eum. 506 sqq. (93-96). H. Grégoire claims to have discovered the solution which Wecklein hints at in his 1888 edition: < Σ > πεύσεται, κτλ.

Euripide, Ion, v. 1424 (97). J. E. Harry would read $\tau\acute{o}\delta'$ $\xi\sigma\theta'$ ὕφασμ'. ἃ τ' ἐσπάθας εὐρίσκομεν (codd.: ὕφασμα θέσφαθ' ὥς), saying that *τεσπαθας* became *τεσπαθως* and then *θεσφαθ* ὥς.

Notes critiques (98-113). René Waltz offers various emendations in Seneca, Tacitus, and Petronius. Seneca, Epist. ad Lucilium II, 3: Nihil—transfertur, W. proposes to insert *multa* before *temptantur*. III, 3: Epistulas—dicimus, *sic priore* ought to be *secretiore*. IV, 2: et hoc quidem peior est, quod etc., Hense's addition of *res* after *peior* is unnecessary. IV, 3: Intelleges—transeat, *malum* magnum instead of *nullum* magnum. V, 2: Asperum—evita, Gertz' conjecture to be disregarded. VIII, 5: Domus—corporis, read *corpori*. IX, 11: Non dubie—adfectus, last phrase should not be punctuated with an interrogation mark. IX, 17: Quamdiu—victurus, punctuation needs to be changed. IX, 18: Omne—insequitur, *Stilbon*—*insequitur* to be considered a gloss. XVIII, 4: Hoc multo—facere, *nec* misceri should be *sed* misceri. XVIII, 11: Sepositos—timendum sit, for *decretis* read *secretis*. XX, 11: Nescio—*aestimanda* est, for *angulus si* read *an gulosus*. XXXIII, 7: Hoc Zenon—profer, for *moveris* read *merebis*. XXXIX, 3: Quemadmodum—motu est, consider *non magis quam quiescere* a gloss. XLI, 7: Vitem—deducit, consider *eorum quae tulit* a gloss to explain *pondere*. XLV, 8: Ceterum—persuaseris, read *ut nesciat*, *ut tu illi* XLVII, 5: Alia interim—infelix, change the semi-colon after *abutimur* to a comma, and

sense is clear. XLVIII, 3: Haec societas—homine, for *omnes* hominibus read *omnibus* hominibus. De otio III, 3: Si res publica—impendet, for *osculata* read *obscurata*. De tranquillitate animi XVI, 1: Ubi . . . cogitur—palam facere. W. defends ms. reading. Tacitus, Annales XIII, 26: Ille—adversos, W. changes his suggestion (Rev. de Phil. XXIX, p. 52) of fieret *egit* for fieret *ut* to fieret *retulit*, saying that the copyist forgot to repeat *ret* and reduced *ulit* to *ut*. XIV, 16: Ne tamen—supplere, for *aetatis nati* read *aetate: nam ii*. XIV, 60: His quanquam—Octaviam, for *his quanquam* read *haudquaquam*. XV, 62: Quando—laturos, for constantis amicitiae laturos read *constanti* amicitiae *daturus*. Petronius, Satirae 28: Tres—dicebat, for hoc suum propinasse read hoc *solum* propinasse. 30: Rettulimus—poenam, for in precario read in *proedrio*.

Bulletin bibliographique (114-135). M. Besnier, Lexique de géographie ancienne (V. Chapot). Fr. Fischer, Thucydidis reliquiae in papyris et membranis Aegyptiacis servatae (C. Michel). W. Norvin, Olympiodori philosophi in Platonis Phaedonem commentaria (A. Diès). K. Jander, Oratorum et rhetorum fragmenta nuper reperta (G. Mathieu). O. Kern, Inscriptiones graecae, Fasc. 7 of Tabulae (B. H(aüssoullier)). E. Nachmanson, Historische att. Inschriften, Fasc. 110 of Kleine Texte; Historische gr. Inschriften bis auf Alex. d. gr., Fasc. 121 of Kl. Texte; F. Bleckmann, Gr. Inschriften zur gr. Staatenkunde (G. Mathieu). H. Usener, Kleine Schriften, IV, Arbeiten zur Religionsgeschichte (R. D. de Lageneste). S. Reinach, Cornélie ou le Latin sans pleurs; Sidonie ou le Français sans peine (P. L(ejay)). J. de Decker, Juvenalis declamans; Studies in Philology Vol. X, Univ. of N. Car.; J. Hunger & H. Lamer, Altorientalische Kultur im Bilde (J. Marouzeau). Ed. Norden, Agnôstos Theos, Untersuchungen zur Formen-geschichte religiöser Rede; W. Riepl, Das Nachrichtenwesen des Altertums; Fr. Fessler, Benutzung d. philosophischen Schriften Ciceros durch Lactanz; S. Abercii vita, Th. Nissen, ed.; Sancti Benedicti regula monachorum, D. C. Butler, ed. (P. Lejay). Ausgewählte Komödien d. P. Terentius Afer. Vol. I. Phormio, E. Hauler (G. Romain).

Les personnages épisodiques dans l'Andrienne de Térence (137-150). H. de La Ville de Mirmont finds that Terence first put a real libertus, Sosia, on the Roman stage, and was the first to introduce, not create, a sage-femme part, and he compares Lesbia to Mrs. Gamp.

Notes sur l'Hélène d'Euripide (151-162). H. Grégoire offers the following emendations: I, for *πεισθεῖς ἐπολεῖς*, l. 391, try *παῖς Διὸς ἐπολεῖ σ'*. II, *ὥς* in l. 620 is not to be read with *τόδ'* but is to be translated 'because' and goes with what follows. III, l. 1321, for *μαστεύουσα <πόνους>* try *μαστεύουσ' ἄπνοος*. IV, ll.

1353-4, try ὦν οὐ θέμις <σφ'> οὐδ' ὁσία παρῶσας ἐν <μὲν> θαλάμοις; ll. 1366-7, try οὐδέ νιν ἦν λαθεῖν | ὑπερβασίαν ᾗ. Bacchantes, l. 1003, change to -στός γ' ἀθέων ἔφν; l. 983, change to ὡς κλοπὸς ὀψεται.

Ad Bucol. I, 70 (163-164). R. Cahen does not agree with L. Havet (see above, p. 101), and emends l. 70 to Post *ah quot mea regna*, etc.

Virgile, Bucoliques 3, 100 (164-168). L. Havet continues his examination of this line.

Diodore, ἀπὸ φωνῆς ἈΝΑΣΤΑΣΙΟΥ (169-173). L. Mariès brings forward good reasons for attributing to Diodorus of Tarsus the body of the commentary contained in the Coislin. gr. 275. The compilation of the marginal portion of the commentary was the work of Anastasius.

L'âne et la vigne (Hygin., Fab. 274, 1) (174-181). G. Lafaye examines into the original sources of the fable.

Survivances des luttes politiques du V^e siècle chez les orateurs Attiques du IV^e siècle (182-205). G. Mathieu examines the types which the orators used. Solon = ὁ νομοθέτης, Aristides = ὁ δικαιοτάτος ἀνὴρ, Kritias = type de la tyrannie extrême. Parallel passages from Andocides and Aeschines are given, and M. thinks both draw from the same source. The orators' points of view are attributable in part also to social status.

Notes sur la vita Cypriani et sur Lucianus (206-210). L. Bayard amends Vita Cypriani 4, 1: *Erat sane illi etiam de nobis to novis*; also the reply of Lucianus to Celerinus: *quibus scio—vicisti* is emended to *quibus eum . . . versato risi gaudio vicisti*, and *novi* is not to be read as perfect of *nosco*, but as gen. of *novus*.

La déesse Julie: CIG. 2815 et 3642 (211-214). W. H. Buckler in Rev. de Phil. XXXVII, 1913, p. 331, did not know of a case where Julia Domna had the epithet *θεά* in inscriptions. He gives a case, supplied by G. F. Hill, on a coin of Trapezopolis in Caria. CIG 2815 and 3642, supposed to refer to Julia Domna, B. believes to refer to Livia.

La notation ascendante des nombres dans la chronique d'Eusèbe (215-218). D. Serruys calls attention to the care which must be taken to determine whether any given chronological writer has used the descending or ascending system of notation.

Bulletin bibliographique (219-239). Th. Fitzhugh, Indo-European rhythm (J. Marouzeau). F. Lübkers Reallexikon des klass. Altertums, 8th ed. (P. Lejay). L. Laurand, Manuel des études grecques et latines, Fasc. 1. (R. Duchamp de

Lageneste). É. Bourguet, Les ruines de Delphes (B. Haus-soullier). L. Havet, Manuel de critique verbale appliquée aux textes latins (P. Lejay). D. Barbelenet, De l'aspect verbal en latin ancien et particulièrement dans Térence (J. Marouzeau). Th. Zielinski, Cicero im Wandel der Jahrhunderte (P. Lejay). O. Kramer, ed., C. Valeri Flacci Argonauticon libri VIII (J. Marouzeau). Fr. Norden, Apulejus von Madaura und das römische Privatrecht. P. Lehmann, Johannes Sichardus und die von ihm benutzten Bibliotheken und Handschriften (P. Lejay).

Platonica (241-244), A. Diès offers these changes in text: I. Rep. 364e/365a, βίβλων—περιμένει, for διὰ θυνσιῶν καὶ παιδιᾶς ἡδονῶν read διὰ θυνσιῶν καὶ διὰ σπονδῶν; II. Legg. 960c/d, ὁ Κλεινία—δύναμιν, after τὴν Ἀτροπον δὴ τρίτην read <τὴν> σωτηρίαν, and for τῷ πυρὶ read τῷ τρι <τψ>.

Notes critiques aux chapitres de Pline relatifs à l'histoire de l'art (245-254). A. J. Reinach discusses the group paintings of Parrhasios as given by Pliny. N. H. XXXV, 71 *Aeneas*, Castorque ac Pollux, he changes to *Helena* C. ac P.; XXXV, 70 for et *Philiscum* et Liberum he suggests et *Phrynichum* etc.

Une étymologie ancienne du nom de Sarapis (255-258). P. Roussel discusses the interpretation of Plutarch, De Iside et Osiride, chap. XXIX.

Les lettres de Diogène à Monime et la confrontation des ΤΟΠΟΙ (259-271). R. Nihard discusses letters XXXVII and XXXIX, and concludes that they are lettres de direction, and develop the same idea, that of ἄσκησις.

Correspondance de Saint Cyprien, corrections à faire au texte de Hartel (272-273). L. Bayard emends: Ep. I, 1, p. 645, 14; IV, 2, p. 474, 9 et s.; VIII, 1, p. 485, 19 et s.; XI, 5, p. 499, 11; XIII, 4, p. 506, 25-507, 1 et s.

Le texte du Phèdre et le Vindobonensis 54 (W) (274-284). H. Alline gives results of his collation of ms. W, using Burnet's 2d edition (Oxford Texts). His collation shows that Vind. 109 (Φ) and Ambr. 56 (r) derive from W, and that Ven. 189 (S of Schanz) and Vind. 80 (Vind. 3 of Stallbaum) belong to same group.

Sophocle, Trachiniennes, v. 554 (285-286); H. Grégoire changes λύπημα to λοίσθημα, on grounds of confusion of Byzantine pronunciation of υ with οι: λύπημα a lapsus for λοίπημα, a gloss of λοίσθημα.

Un graffite mal compris (287-289). S. Reinach thinks that the inscription found on one of the bronze doors of the Capitol during Stilicho's pillage, given by Zosimus (V, 35) as MISERO

REGI SERVANTUR, and which Hodgkin took at face value, should be NIGER Q. REGII SERVVS.

Un manuscrit palimpseste du commentaire de Proclus au Timée de Platon (290-291). D. Serruys calls attention to the difficulty raised by the establishment of the fact that A of Plato and the oldest ms. of Proclus are copies made by the same hand in the same shop.

Bulletin bibliographique (292-301). E. Samter, Die Religion der Griechen; Entaphia, in memoria di Emilio Pozzi: (1) G. de Sanctis, Les Nomophylakes d'Athènes, (2) L. Pareti, Deux recherches de chronologie grecque, (3) A. Ferrabino, Θεσσαλῶν πολιτεία, (4) A. Rostagni, Isocrate et Philippe, (5) L. Coccolo, Le décret apostolique de Jérusalem, (6) G. A. Alfero, Les dernières années de Naevius, (7) B. Motzo, Examen historico-critique du 3^e livre de Macchabées (G. Mathieu); Papyri Iandanae ed. C. Kalbfleisch, Instrumenta graeca publica et privata, ed. L. Spohr (B. Haussoullier); Kommentar zu Ciceros Rede Pro Sex. Roscio Amerino, 2d ed., G. Landgraf; Q. Horati Flacci carmina, Rec. Fr. Vollmer; M. Annaei Lucani Belli civilis libri X, tert. ed. C. Hosius; Corpus agrimensorum Romanorum, Rec. C. Thulin; Iulii Firmici Materni Matheseos libri VIII, ed. W. Kroll et F. Skutsch; A. Dieterich, Nekyia (Beiträge zur Erklärung der neuentdeckten Petrusapokalypse), 2d ed. (P. Lejay); Jas. Mearns, Early Latin Hymnaries (Abbé Hocedez); Jas. Mearns, The Canticles of the Christian Church Eastern and Western in Early and Mediaeval Times (H. Lebègue).

Les architectes et entrepreneurs à Délos de 314 à 240 (303-330). Lacroix examines the results of Homolle and Glotz on the functions, magisterial qualifications and earnings of the architects, and the partnerships, pay and position of the contractors. A list of both architects and contractors is given on pages 326-330.

Bulletin bibliographique (332-334). J. Bielcki, De aetatis Demosthenicae studiis Libanianis (G. Mathieu); P. de Labriolle, La crise montaniste, and idem, Les sources de l'histoire du montanisme (P. Lejay).

Revue des comptes rendus (parus en 1913) d'ouvrages relatifs à l'antiquité classique (1-123).

Revue des revues et publications (1913) d'Académies (1-245).

R. V. D. MAGOFFIN.

REPORT OF RHEINISCHES MUSEUM, Vol. LXX, 4.

Pp. 482-523. Kurt Witte, *Wortrhythmus bei Homer*. Under the foregoing title the author proposes to publish, in place of a complete history of the language of the Greek epos, a series of articles on the various problems of the Homeric language. The present article, which is worthy of the careful consideration of scholars that are interested in the subject of Homeric meter and language, bears the subtitle 'Στίχοι ἀκέφαλοι und στίχοι μείουροι'. The author shows successively that position before the bucolic caesura, position between the bucolic caesura and the end of the verse, position before the feminine caesura, the fifth foot, the second foot, the sixth foot, the third trochee, and ictus in general were productive of new forms that took their place beside the regular forms. An adequate list of representative examples of each of these categories would exceed the limits of the space available for this report. As a striking illustration, however, of the influence of position in the creation of metrically lengthened forms may be mentioned the behavior of such words as ἀνῆρ, ὕδωρ, and Ἄρης. The nominative ἀνῆρ with short *a* is found about 140 times in the interior of the verse, whereas 45 of the 50 examples of ἀνῆρ with long *a* are found in the sixth foot. ὕδωρ is used as an iambus 25 times, but 46 of the 48 examples of its use as a spondee are found in the sixth foot. Ἄρης has iambic measurement in 31 instances, whilst 17 of the 19 instances of spondaic measurement are found in the sixth foot. The material examined leads the author to enunciate the principle that in Homeric verse metrical lengthening is determined not solely by metrical necessity but also by metrical convenience. By the application of this principle he does away with all the so-called ἀκέφαλοι and μείουροι στίχοι.

Pp. 524-550. Th. Birt, *Der Aufbau der sechsten und vierten Satire Juvenals*. The author thinks that he has succeeded in making a satisfactory analysis of the sixth satire of Juvenal. He points out that the poem is not a satire on women in general, but that it is directed against married women alone. The main body of the poem is divided into two parts, the one treating of the relation of the married woman to her husband, the other of her relations to other persons. There is also an introduction and a brief conclusion. The recurrence of similar thoughts in the four divisions is natural. The same thought serves different purposes in different divisions. Similar repetitions are found in Cicero, who is a master of analysis. The outline of the poem is as follows. Part I. Chastity has departed from Rome (1-135): Chastity dwelt at Rome in the age of Saturn (1-20). Adultery crept in as early as the Silver age (21-37). Ursidius wants a wife and is looking for a chaste woman (38-47). A

chaste matron may perhaps be found in some solitary country place (48-59), but not at Rome (61-81). A warning example is Eppia, the senator's wife, who ran off to Egypt with a gladiator (82-113). Things are no better at court (114-132), to say nothing of the poison administered to Britannicus (133-135). Part II. Relation of wife to husband (136-345): (a) Annoyances of the married man's life (136-285): From the wife that is rich (136-141), beautiful (142-161), impeccable (161-183); that knows Greek (184-199); that tyrannizes over the husband that dotes upon her (200-225); that is looking for a divorce (224-230); the mother-in-law (231-241); the litigious propensities of the wife (242-245); her fondness for practice with gladiatorial weapons (246-267); the adulterous wife (268-285). (b) The cause of this abnormal condition (286-345): The luxurious mode of living that has come from abroad (286-300); the excesses that characterize the private (300-334) and public religious cults of the women (335-345). Part III. Relations of the wife to others than her husband (346-591): She cannot be locked in (346-348); attends the public shows (349-365); is fond of eunuchs (366-378), devoted to musicians (379-397), interested in the city news (398-412), brutal to her poor neighbors (413-418); neglectful of her guests (419-433), fond of displaying her knowledge of literature, rhetoric, and grammar (434-456); adorns herself to attract the *moechi* (457-473); her behavior at toilet (474-506); her intimacy with oriental priests and soothsayers (511-591). Part IV. Criminal conduct of the wife (592-661): She practices abortion (592-609); makes her husband insane by administering love-potions (610-626); and even poisons him and his children (626-661). The Winstedt fragment is rejected as spurious.

The author thinks that the fourth satire is a unit and not a piece of patchwork. Verses 1-36 are a *mimus*-like conversation and serve as a prologue. The connection of thought between the prologue and the body of the poem is this: 'Mad was the luxury of Crispinus in the matter of fish; still madder the luxury of his imperial master Domitian.' The body of the fourth satire is a parodic rhapsody on Domitian and his court.

Pp. 551-567. Hermann Mutschmann, *Eine peripatetische Quelle Lukians*. The source of Lucian's *περὶ τοῦ μὴ ῥαδίως πιστεύειν διαβολῇ* was a Peripatetic treatise on character, the title and the precise literary form of which cannot be determined, but the author of which was most probably Ariston of Keos. The work in question may have been a special tract, perhaps a letter like the *ἐπιστολὴ περὶ τοῦ κουφίζειν ὑπερηφανίας*, or it may have been some larger ethical treatise. If it was a special tract, the treatment must have harmonized with the author's ethical views as elsewhere expressed; and the essay, or letter,

must have been regarded by its writer as a contribution to the larger subject of friendship.

Pp. 568-583. K. Busche, *Kritische Beitræge zu Senecas Naturales Quaestiones*. The following passages receive consideration: I Praef. 3 (in connection with which the author discusses the use of asyndeton in Seneca); 5, 12; 16, 7; 17, 9; II 12, 5; 29 E; 32, 8; 35, 1; 40, 4; 59, 6; III 15, 5; 18, 3; 19, 2; 26, 7; 27, 9; 28, 5; 29, 3; 6; 9; IV a, 2, 5; 10; 12; b, 13, 2; V 9, 3; 12, 5; 13, 2; 18, 7; VI 10, 1; 22, 4; 32, 2; VII 24, 2.

Pp. 584-590. Wilhelm Bannier, *Zu den attischen Uebergabeurkunden des 4. Jahrhunderts in Kolumnenschrift*. As a result of the restudy of the inscriptions specified in the title, Bannier gives an improved arrangement of the lines of Johnson's fragment (A. J. A. XVIII 1 ff.), and he shows that II 747, or its like, probably constituted the first column of an inscription of which the Johnson-Woodward fragment constituted the second and third columns, II 676, or its like, the lower part of the fourth column, and II 693, or its like, the fifth column. The author also makes interesting observations on the contents, the method of arrangement, and the relative dates of other treasury lists of this period.

Pp. 591-610. W. Kroll, *Randbemerkungen*. (Continued from Rh. Mus. LXIX 95.) XXVIII. Emendations of Julius Valerius. XXIX. The Varro referred to in the phrase 'Varro in Ephemeride' in the *Brevis Expositio ad Verg. Georg. I* 397, may very well have been the grammarian Marcus Terentius Varro, who was the author of two ephemerides. It is commonly believed that the person designated by Donatus was the poet P. Varro Atacinus, who translated Aratus. Granting that the fragment of the *Expositio* may have belonged to P. Varro's translation of Aratus, the translation itself could not have borne the title of *Ephemeris*, for such an application of the term *ephemeris* is not found before Fulgentius, *Virg. cont.* 34, 9. XXX. Critical note on the fragment of the Harpazomene of Caecilius cited by Donatus on *Terent. Eunuch.* 671. XXXI. The eleventh speech of Dio is a specimen of what the rhetoricians called *ἀνασκευή*. Dio did not draw upon Aristotle for the details of his Homeric criticism, as Montgomery, *Studies in Honor of B. L. Gildersleeve*, p. 405 ff., thought, but upon a compilation belonging to a later age and embracing the results of Aristotelian and Alexandrian criticism.

Pp. 611-621. Alfred Klotz, *Zur Kritik einiger ciceronischer Reden*. IV. *Pro Rabirio Postumo*. The author discusses and emends passages of sections 31, 42, 43, 26, 47.

Pp. 622-637. A. Brinkmann, *Die olympische Chronik*. The author reviews and combats the various arguments that have

been advanced against the authenticity of the list of Olympian victors, and marshals and supplements the arguments that have been adduced in its support. A special contribution to the subject is a study of the names of the victors mentioned in the list. The article concludes with the statement that the list has not only successfully withstood all attacks that have been directed against it, but has been continually receiving new confirmation from every possible quarter.

Pp. 638-644. *Miszellen*. A. Schober, Ein Homerzitat bei Philodem *περὶ εὐσεβείας* (638-639). Fragments 242 II a and 247 II are consecutive and the gaps must be restored thus:

242 II a ἐπιδείκ]νσθαι	τέα δὲ μάντ]ιν Ὀμη-
λέγουσιν ἔ]νιοι κατὰ	ρος ὧδε συγγρ]άφει.
Δίαν (?) Γλαῦ]κον, Ἀριστο-	247 II
τέλης δ' αὐ]τὸν πλεῦ-	"γέρων ἄλι[ος νημερ-
σαι εἰς Δῆλο]ν καὶ τὰς	τῆς, ἀθάν[ατος Πρω-
Νηρηίδας.] τὸν Πρω-	τεύς".

Guenther Jachmann, *Der Name Hellespont* (640-644). The author takes a middle course between Sieglin, who claimed that in the early Greek authors, more particularly in Hecataeus, the term Hellespont included also the Aegean, and Klotz, who maintained that this use of the term originated in the brain of some grammarian and had no literary warrant. Birt had already cited *Ciris* 413 as an instance of the wider use, and Jachmann now adduces the following additional examples, *Culex* 337, *Herc. O.* 775, *Sen. Agam.* 565, *Trag. inc. LV* p. 289 R.³ The source of the wider use seems to J. to have been some Hellenistic poet.

C. W. E. MILLER.

BRIEF MENTION.

In view of the space given up to Paulus Silentarius and the Greek Anthology in the present number, I cannot do more than announce the appearance of a new volume of the *Loeb Classical Library* in which we are presented with a translation of the *Fifth and Sixth Books of the Greek Anthology* by the well-known scholar W. R. PATON. Not only so but 'donatus iam rude' as I am, I ought to lay aside the ferule which I used for sixty years on the performances of my pupils, and forswear any further criticisms of translations. But I have grateful memories of Mr. PATON's other work and especially of his striking illustration of the famous dictum of Goethe that a knowledge of the poet's country is essential to the understanding of the poet himself. Pindar's ἀργυρωθεῖσαι πρόσωπα μαλακόφωνοι αἰοδαί (I. 2, 8) lay hid in night until Mr. PATON published a paper in the *Classical Review* (June 1888, p. 180) from which it appeared that the personified songs, like Eastern dancers, 'plastered their faces with silver coins'. This paper was followed by J. G. Frazer in the *C. R.* for Oct. of the same year, p. 261; and in *A. J. P.* XXX 358 I gave yet another illustration from Hichens's Garden of Allah. Of this evident explanation, Sir John Sandys has nothing better to say than 'Probably'. Eastern dancers, after all, he might urge, are not Greek dancers and Goethe's dictum does not apply with full force. But Southern Italy is Magna Graecia and it is interesting to read in Briggs's 'In the Heart of Italy' that in Lecce 'every guest that danced with the bride gave her a handkerchief or a piece of silver. In the latter case she spat on it and stuck it on her forehead.' Now Lecce is not far from Calimera and Thumb has given us a specimen of the Greek of Calimera, recorded by Morosi and Comparetti. The origin of the custom may be Eastern, the tradition is certainly Greek. An interpretation based on actual vision carries or ought to carry conviction, and I am sorry that Sir John Sandys is not quite convinced. Another interpretation of the same sort that I advocated for P. 2, 82: ἀγὰν πάγχυ διαπλέκει (*A. J. P.* XXVIII 109, XXX 358) has been followed by Sir John, in spite of the πλατὺς γέλως of Walter Headlam (l. c.), and he renders the words 'weaveth on every side a tangled path'. 'Weaving a path' would probably not have commended itself to Headlam the fastidious any more than 'weaving a bend', but I was interested to read in a local newspaper the vivid description of a cheap lodging-house,

in which occur the words 'weaving one's way among the stair contortionists'. Scholars must live the life of the day, if they are to make their other life truly alive.

In spite of the protest just expressed against the overdoing of the Greek Anthology in this number, Paulus Silentarius intrudes into the confines of *Brief Mention*. After my article was out of my hands, I was made aware of a paper in *Classical Philology* for June 1916 (p. 336) in which Professor FISKE comments on a much discussed passage of my old enemy Persius V 165-66: dum Chrysidis udas | ebrius ante fores exstincta cum face canto. The scene is taken from the New Comedy, maintains Professor FISKE, which nobody will deny. The key to 'udas', which is variously interpreted, is given, according to Professor FISKE, by two passages. In one, Lucilius XXIX 841, something is thrown down from the window on the approaching <lovers> and the something is hot water according to Marx's interpretation of 846. More convincing is the familiar passage from Horace, Sat. 2, 7, 90-91: foribusque repulsum | perfundit gelida. Now the same situation occurs in Paulus A. P. V 281—by no means one of his worst:

χθιζά μοι Ἑρμῶνασσα φιλακρήτους μετὰ κώμονς
 στέμμασιν αὐλείας ἀμφιπλέκοντι θύρας
 ἐκ κυλίκων ἐπέχευεν ὕδωρ· ἀμάθυνε δὲ χαίτην,
 ἣν μόλις ἐς τρισσὴν πλέξαμεν ἀμφιλύκην.
 ἐφλέχθη δ' ἐτι μᾶλλον ὑφ' ὕδατος· ἐκ γὰρ ἐκείνης
 λάθριον εἶχε κύλιξ πῦρ γλυκερῶν στομάτων.

In his commentary Veniero cites the Horatian passage and quotes Mallet's *Quaestiones Propertianae*, p. 44: Amans aqua perfusus ab irata puella maiorem se accepisse amoris ardorem ait, quod ex comoedia quadam sumptum esse putat Benndorfius Griech. Vasenbilder 1877, p. 91 collata vasis pictura tab. 44. In my commentary, I have *not* cited Propertius 1, 16, 4, which is not to the point.

In the *Revue archéologique* of last year M. SALOMON REINACH published an interesting sketch of his master *Michel Bréal* (1832-1915)—a vivid personality whose memory abides with me as fresh as it was the day after my solitary interview with him in 1880. From this notice we learn that philological studies came near losing two of their most distinguished French representatives, Bréal, because he was a Jew, and Perrot, because he was a Protestant. In A. J. P. XXIV 353-358 and XXVIII 208-217, I gave a sympathetic account of Bréal's views on the

Homeric Question as contained in *Un problème de l'histoire littéraire*. Carried away as I am too often by the company I happen to be keeping when I am reading Homer, to one thing I have been fairly constant. Homer's world was no rudimentary world. No simplicity of a rude age was his. No ballad-singer was he. Horace may have overdone the matter when he complimented Homer on his ethics, but that Homer was a subtle psychologist I have always been ready to maintain (A. J. P. XXXI 358). Helen was a true woman, even if there is an aura of divinity about her, and I take no umbrage at the flirtations of Penelope. And so far forth I am with Bréal.

For a fairly faithful summary of Bréal's views I must refer to the articles already cited. The German reviews of the book, so far as I have recorded them were hostile or, what is worse, sniffy. Bréal, it is true, laid himself open to criticism by reason of sundry slips, which all scholars might not be disposed to treat so leniently as Seymour has done, who wrote in his generous way *Cl. Phil.* III 106 (quoted A. J. P. XXIX 125): 'About a dozen clear cases of oscitancy might be noted but no one would urge them against M. Bréal's scholarship.' I myself have cited (A. J. P. XXVIII 210) his droll mistake in making Thetis the daughter of Zeus, and an esteemed correspondent has nearly made up the tale of 'the dozen clear cases of oscitancy' to which Seymour refers. It was Theano and not Andromache (p. 8) that spread the peplos on the knees of Athena (*Z* 302). Arete and the consort of Alkinoos were one and the same and not different persons (p. 27). Helen was not queen of Pylos any more than Sirmium was in Dacia (*Essays and Studies* p. 384). Andromache makes three appearances and not two merely. X 437 is too memorable to be overlooked. There was no fight between Aphrodite and Diomedes (p. 68). Aphrodite, as my correspondent puts it, was a Red Cross nurse, Diomedes, a champion of frightfulness. Homer does not tell us that Iphigeneia was sacrificed (p. 82). The only offering up of Iphigeneia mentioned is where Iphigeneia under the name of Iphianassa is offered in marriage to Achilles—a point which I overlooked in my summary (XXVIII 213), though my summaries are things for which I take no responsibility except that of fidelity to the work summarized. Still such mistakes do not affect the main contention and this it is that stirred the ire and derision of the German critics. Schroeder sneered at Bréal's thesis (*D. L. Z.* 6. Juni 1908) and Kluge in the now deceased *N. P. R.* 1907 declared: *Dass durch diese Anschauung die ganze homerische Frage auf den Kopf gestellt wird, sieht jeder, der die Ilias genauer kennt und die Sache unbefangen betrachtet.*

In view of this outgiving the following anecdote for which M. Reinach vouches has its amusing side.

Pendant qu'il imprimait son œuvre Bréal reçut la visite d'un célèbre savant allemand et lui exposa sa thèse. 'Mais, c'est ce que nous enseignons', dit le philologue. 'Alors', repartit Bréal, 'c'est dans votre enseignement ésotérique, car ceux de vos livres que j'ai lus disent tout autre chose.'

It was, I must confess, somewhat of a shock to me to find that Bréal considered Paley (A. J. P. XXVIII 213) to have good sense 'comme en général les Anglais quand ils suivent leur propre instinct'—but it is not un instructive to compare with Bréal's thesis the latest views of two English scholars, one of them the foremost Homerist among English-speaking peoples.

CHADWICK in the *Heroic Age* says:

It is not sensible to regard the Anglo-Saxon poems, still less the Homeric poems, as products of barbarism. The courts which gave birth to such poetry must have appreciated to a considerable extent the culture as well as the luxury of earlier civilization.

And LEAF, *Homer and History*:

Greek history arose in courts, in the society of a small and refined aristocracy, the lower elements were introduced at a later stage and appealed to a mixed audience.

In the great war between the 'Einheitshirten' and the 'Kleinliederjäger' the middle ground has become narrower and narrower ever since I can remember. There are other things I should like to copy from this interesting sketch. Of Latin grammar Bréal said 'La grammaire latine est devenue chez nous un terrain mouvant dans lequel rien ne tient debout' and he protests against the use of meaningless examples in school-grammars, just as I protested in my Latin School Grammar of 1898. But 1898 is 1898, Bréal and I were close contemporaries, both out of date.

Sunt quos—There are those who delight in collecting 'howlers' such as the malevolent might call the slips made by Bréal that have been specified above. Of school-boy, of undergraduate, mistakes there is simply no end. The late Professor Norton had a choice collection, with which he was wont to regale his guests. I remember a very amusing anthology published years ago in Macmillan's Magazine. The report of the Quincy School held its own as a classic for many years. Fully aware of my own shortcomings, I have never gloated over such things. When I asked my boys to translate 'The horsemen were cap-

tured arms and all', I hardly smiled when the rendering was handed in: *οἱ ἱπποὶ αὐταῖς ὀπλαῖς ἐάλωσαν*. Those who are curious in such things will find not a few specimens recorded in the thirty-six volumes of the JOURNAL. But 'Noli altum sapere sed time', the old Robert Stephens motto (A. J. P. XXXV 461), has been before me these sixty odd years, ever since I wrote one of my youthful papers on Henry Stephens, as he was called then. If I mention such things, it is to teach a lesson we all need. My attention has been called to a false genealogy in my Pindar O. 7, 23 which makes Tlepolemos the husband and not the son of Astydameia. The error is due to a wrong alignment as the commentary shews, but alas! the mistake has been copied. Another Pindarist, the same informant writes, has made Peleus marry Harmonia, and an eminent scholar tells on Herodotus the story that Herodotus tells on Hekataios—and there are those who will say that it serves Herodotus right, that thief of the world (A. J. P. XI 253).

In the Introduction to his edition of the Medea, that playful sprite Verrall amused himself with illustrating the processes of textual criticism by imaginary corruptions in the text of Milton. Anyone who has been a slave of the press as long as I have been would find it unnecessary to resort to imaginary corruptions. It is only needful to reveal the secrets of the prison-house from which corrected proofs are released. To take two instances of recent occurrence, if it had not been for the vigilance of the proof-reader 'the undeniable charm of the best exemplars of English scholarship' would have appeared as 'the undesirable charm' (XXXVII 495, l. 6) and 'Nothing is more contagious than the sneering habit' (l. c., p. 496, l. 24) would have been turned into a hygienic warning against the 'sneezing habit'. Corruptions of this kind maintain themselves for generations in our English classics.¹ And one such corruption has given rise to an international correspondence, the upshot of which may be interesting to the students of Poe. At the same time, I am not quite prepared to follow the example of the *Revue critique*, which has recently begun a series of questions and answers, though to judge by sundry utterances, such a subsection of the JOURNAL would be welcome to some of the readers

¹ A few years ago when my criticisms of Browning's improprieties called forth anonymous remonstrance and private corrections (A. J. P. XXXII 241; XXXVI 237), one of my correspondents wrote to me touching the Pippa Passes pedantry. 'Some men are incredibly innocent . . . The most astounding instance I have seen is that of the editor of Little, Brown and Co.'s edition of Gray's Poems, who turned the line in the 'Jemmy Twitcher' poem

But his *name* is a shame and his eyes are so lewd
into

But his *nose* is a shame, etc.'

of *Brief Mention*; for with all my honest endeavour to convey a perfectly clear surface meaning (A. J. P. XXXII 483) I am not seldom accused of Heraklitean tenebricosity. *φέγγος μὲν ξυνέροις, ἀξυνέροις δ' ἔρεβος.*

But to the present problem—propounded by a scholar, whose position demands respectful consideration.

'The <puzzling passage>', my correspondent writes 'occurs in a letter of Poe's to Mr. — dated 1831, and dealing with Poetry in general and more particularly with the theories of Coleridge and Wordsworth. It runs thus:

Yet, let not Mr. W. despair, he has given immortality to a wagon and the bee. Sophocles has eternalized a sore toe and dignified a tragedy with a chorus of turkeys.

I have consulted four or five copies including two of the most recent editions of Poe's works and find no variant except that a recent English edition prints—'waggon'.

Now it is perfectly evident that 'turkeys' is an impossible reading. Quite apart from the fact that the Mel-eagris Gallopavo was as unknown to the age of Sophocles as broom-corn to the days of Thomas Creede (A. J. P. XXXI 239) there is no trace of a bird-chorus in Sophocles, and we must fall back upon conjectural emendation. Poe's beautiful handwriting might give us pause. Still with printers all things are possible and palaeographically 'jackeys' would not be difficult. To my mind the case is as simple of solution as the one to which I can bear personal witness, in which Jacob's 'limping leg' was transmuted in print into Jacob's 'limping 69'. 'Jackies' for the mariners of the chorus of the Ajax would be in keeping with the tone of the 'sore toe' of the Philoctetes. But 'jackey' or 'jackie' for 'jacktar' has no literary warrant except in recent American periodical literature. Poe was practically a Southerner. Southern literary men of his type were conservatives, and the 'animus suspicax' of your true critic must suspend judgment until he finds out whether the word 'jackey' was used at West Point, where Poe was a cadet for a time, in mockery of the other branch of the service. Doubtless my conjecture has been anticipated but that furnishes only another analogy to the processes of that conjectural criticism which takes up so much space in the annals of classical scholarship.¹

¹ Since the above *Brief Mention* was in print a letter has been received from my correspondent with further details, which I subjoin:

"I quote this from the 'Works', ed. Stedman & Woodberry, London, 1895. The letter was reprinted in the 'Southern Literary Messenger', July, 1836, with revisions. This revised version is printed in an ed. of the 'Works' published by Shiells in London and Lippincott in Philadelphia, 1895, vol. 5, pp. 92-100. The above passage appears on p. 98 with the variants 'waggon' for 'wagon', and 'transmitted to eternity' for 'eternalized'."

W. P. Mustard: ETTORE STAMPINI. *Studi di letteratura e filologia latina*. Torino: Fratelli Bocca, 1917. Pp. 447. Lire 6. This first volume of Professor STAMPINI's "collected works" includes a number of studies which have been published in various books and journals in the last thirty-six years. The earliest is a lecture delivered in 1880, a plea for a closer study of the Roman metre. The latest (1915) deals with the name of the painter Marcus Plautius (Plin. N. H. xxxv. 115). This maintains that the word *loco* of the inscription has nothing to do with the artist's name. It is an ablative depending upon *digna*; and the first line should read, *Dignis digna loco. Picturis condecoravit*—'Ai degni onore degno del luogo', etc. The longest and most interesting article is a discussion of the legend of Aeneas and Dido in Roman literature (1892). Another long article, which is more familiar to American readers, deals with the tradition of the suicide of Lucretius (1896). There are two chapters of Lucretiana (1902 and 1915), a note on the spelling of the name 'Vergilius' (1883), and two studies of the *Bucolics* (1904). One of these treats of the chronology of the *Eclogues*, and maintains that we have them all in the order of their composition, except that the first is later than the second and third. In an appendix Professor STAMPINI gives some of his own inscriptions and other formal compositions in Latin. The subjects range from a medal offered for a university rifle match—"in signo armis ignivomis feriendo"—to the prowess of the Italian fleet (June, 1916)—"hostilium navium sub mari navigantium insidias et spes irritas facit, et submersa vel aquis innatantia machinamenta offensu dissilientia vitans", etc.

W. P. M.: *The Influence of Horace upon the chief English Poets of the Nineteenth Century*. By MARY REBECCA THAYER. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1916. Pp. 117. The English poets studied in this dissertation are Wordsworth, Coleridge, Byron, Shelley, Keats, Tennyson, and Browning. Of these, the most Horatian in spirit is Wordsworth; the most Horatian in style and workmanship is Tennyson. Byron and Browning quote Horace frequently; but their quotations are usually mere 'external embellishments', consciously and deliberately used. Byron was always more interested in the *Satires* and *Epistles* than in the *Odes*; Shelley was interested only in the lyric poems. The influence of Horace on the poetry of Coleridge is 'almost negligible'; as for Keats, he shows no Horatian element at all. The quotation from Browning (p. 104), "fluff, nutshell, and naught,—thank Flaccus for the phrase", can hardly refer to Horace (Sat. ii. 5, 36);

possibly, it refers to something in Persius. It would be quite like the pedantic Browning to refer to Persius as 'Flaccus'; and he may even have offered his vile phrase as a translation of *spumosum et cortice pingui*, i. 96, or of *bullatis . . . nugis*, v. 19. Another quotation from Browning (p. 109), "no more friskings o'er the fruitful (*foodful?*) glebe", should perhaps be compared with Horace's description of 'Lyde', Od. iii. 11, 9, "quae velut latis equa trima campis | ludit exsultim", etc.

W. P. M.: *The Cambridge Songs, a Goliard Song Book of the XIth Century*; edited from the unique manuscript in the Cambridge University Library, by Karl Breul. Cambridge, The University Press: New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1915. Pp. X + 120. \$6.50. This is a sumptuous edition of a remarkable collection of Medieval Latin poems, which probably was the song book or commonplace book of some early goliard (*clericus vagabundus*). The editor provides an excellent photographic reproduction of all the ten folios, with a transliteration; then he repeats the poems in an improved and more serviceable text. He reviews the work hitherto done on these songs (1720-1914) and adds some notes and criticism of his own. "The very valuable notes contained in the third edition (by E. Steinmeyer, 1892) of Müllenhoff and Scherer's *Denkmäler* have purposely not been reproduced here. This scholarly work is still indispensable, and as it is easily accessible students should make a point of consulting it; but attention is called in the notes to all later publications in which the commentary of the *Denkmäler* is either supplemented or corrected." The closing chapter discusses a contested passage in the macaronic poem *De Heinricho*. The book will be welcomed by all students of Medieval literature.

W. P. M.: *Le Satire di Orazio*, commentate da VINCENZO USSANI. Napoli: Fr. Perrella, 1916. Pp. 209. Lire 2. In this edition the Satires are studied with special reference to the philosophical movement of Horace's day. For example, the first is regarded as a parody of a *διατριβή* of Crispinus. The editor allows himself several changes in the text: *cum*, for *si*, i. 6, 24; *exsudes*, for *exsudet*, i. 10, 28; *tum*, for *cum*, ii. 2, 43; *furorem*, for *cruorem*, ii. 3, 275. And some of his explanatory notes are unusual, or new. *Urna*, i. 5, 91, is taken as a nominative, 'la fonte'; *curto*, i. 6, 104, means 'castrato'; *quine*, i. 10, 21, is an interrogative adverb; *bilinguis*, i. 10, 30, is a nominative; *qui*, i. 10, 108, means 'how?'—a question of the puzzled Maecenas. In ii. 5, 90-91, *ultra 'non' 'etiam' sileas* means

'don't say more than *yes* and *no*'. In i. 10, 28-29, the proper names are *Pedius*= 'Quintus Pedius, console del 711/43 e celebre oratore', and *Poplicola Corvinus*= 'M. Valerius Poplicola Messala Corvinus, l'amico di Tibullo.'

W. P. M.: *Goethe's Estimate of the Greek and Latin Writers*. By WILLIAM JACOB KELLER. Madison, Wis., 1916. Pp. 191. 40 cents. This is a careful and methodical collection of all of Goethe's more important utterances on the subject of classical literature. The Greek and Roman authors are taken up in chronological order; the book has a useful index, and a table which shows what ancient writers Goethe was especially interested in at various periods of his life. In the *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, XV 512-542, Dr. KELLER has published a second study of the same material, in which he investigates the qualities of Greek and Latin literature by which Goethe was especially attracted. The most important of these are: "moderation, simplicity, unity, artistic finish, clearness, and, above all, realism".

W. P. M.: G. WESSELS. *Libri Tres De Calamitatibus Temporum B. Baptistae Mantuani*. Rome, 1916. Pp. 96. This little book, issued in commemoration of the fourth centenary of "good old Mantuan's" death, is a welcome addition to our list of humanistic texts. It gives one of the most interesting of his longer poems—a poem written in an evil time. Italy is suffering from war, and famine, and pestilence—all sent from Heaven because of the wickedness of man and the neglect of religion. The world needs a second Elias—like the prophet who founded the Carmelite Order—needs more of the faith of Noah or of Abraham. The editor contributes an introduction on the life and works of the author; one wishes he had added a few notes on the poem itself. He rejects the statement of Paulus Jovius that Mantuan was "ex damnato coitu natus", and tries to refute it out of the poet's own writings. But the passage he relies upon is rather vague and inconclusive. Perhaps the most interesting inference to be drawn from it is that Mantuan's mother, Constantia Maia (Costanza de' Maggi) bore the same family name as the mother of Virgil.

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Thanks are due to Messrs. G. E. Stechert & Co., 151-155 W. 25th St., New York, for material furnished.

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